

GRANT AND LINCOLN

DRAWER 98

GENERALS (UNION)

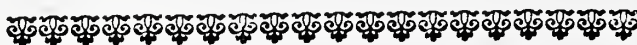
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Civil War Officers Union

Ulysses S. Grant
and Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection



Brown would not know-
ingly misrepresent Gen.
Grant was appointed
chief on the recom-
mendation of Hon. E.
B. Washburne—Perhaps
we should correct
him. A. Lincoln

Jan. 4, 1862.

Respectfully referred
to Hon. E. B. Wash-
burne, with the request
that he will return these
papers to the Dept.
Simon Cameron

Wash Dept.
Jan. 6, 1862



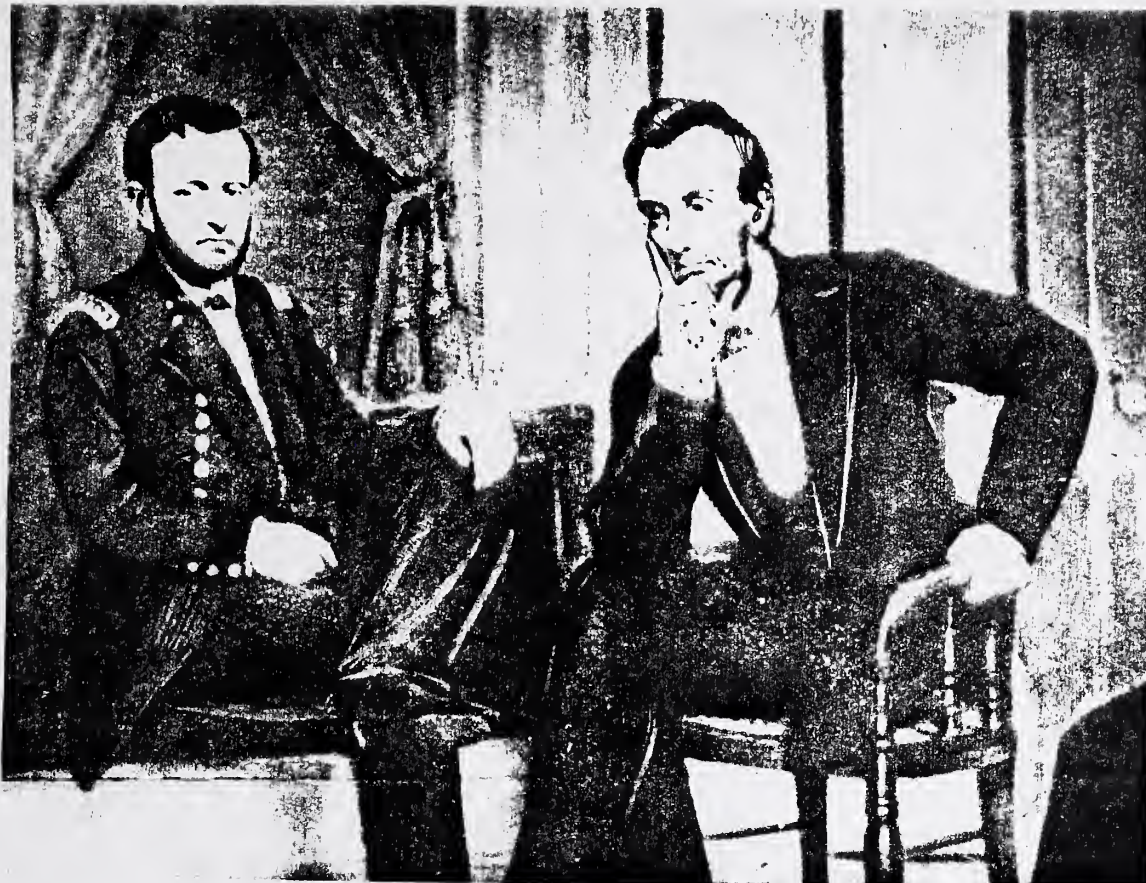
The Lincoln administration hadn't heard the last about Grant's drinking when the notes printed here were sent on their way. Other tales kept filtering into Washington.

In 1863, two men called on Lincoln and demanded that the general be removed or admonished. The President broke in: "By the way,

gentlemen, can either of you tell me where General Grant procures his whisky? Because if I can find out, I will send every general in the field a barrel of it." This story appears in F. B. Carpenter's book, "Six Months in the White House with Abraham Lincoln." Carpenter painted the picture, "Lincoln Reading the

Emancipation Proclamation to His Cabinet."

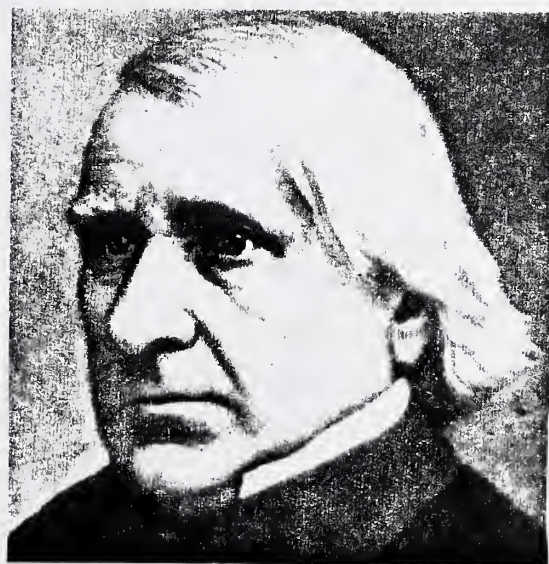
A noted Lincoln buff, Ralph Newman (whose Civil War Scrapbook appears in this magazine), insists that Grant was not a drunkard and would often go for long periods without liquor. He was one of those drinkers, however, who "couldn't handle their liquor."



Grant and Lincoln are pictured together in a G. P. A. Healy painting of an 1865 scene.



William Bross, an early Tribune editor.



Elihu Washburne, congressman from Illinois.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

WHEN the letters between the President and General GRANT upon the opening of the summer campaign were published, we did not especially allude to them. But we now reprint them that every man in the land may understand what cordial sympathy there is between the two men. It is not easy to parallel, it is impossible to surpass, in history the simple manliness of this correspondence. Two honest, faithful, sagacious men, who have one cause only at heart, that of the country—who are each peculiarly representative of a certain indomitable patience and tenacity which is characteristically American, are providentially in this emergency at the head of our civil and military administration. If the Government had always been in such hands we should have had no war to deplore. Let every citizen at home and soldier and sailor in the service carefully read and ponder these letters:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, April 30, 1864.

"Lieutenant-General Grant:

"Not expecting to see you before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know, nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant, and pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any restraints or constraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster, or capture of our men in great numbers, shall be avoided, I know that these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there be any thing wanting, which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it.

"And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Yours, very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

GRANT'S REPLY.

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
CULPEPPER COURT-HOUSE, May 1, 1864.

"THE PRESIDENT.—Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future and satisfaction for the past in my military administration is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disap-

[NOVEMBER 19, 1864.]

pointed. From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty.

"Indeed since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness which every thing asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

"Very truly, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

Harper's Weekly
Nov. 19, 1864



stored to health and strength, nothing that the nation could have done to secure that end would have been lacking, or been thought too costly; but now that he could never be more than a sufferer, prostrate and hopeless, there was no desire to retain him. Reverent sorrow and sympathy had long ascended from every quarter of the land towards the cottage on that mountain-top, but there were no prayers uttered for protracted days.

The final crisis was neither long nor painful. On the 21st of July the country was informed that he was failing again. For two days his symptoms indicated increasing depression and exhaustion, and on the 23d came

the end. There was no renewed struggle, no distinct consciousness on his part that his feet were wet with the waters of that river which we all must cross; he made no formal parting again with his family; he endured no pangs of dissolution, but passed away quietly without a groan or a shudder, with no one but his wife and children and his medical attendants by his side. He had done most of the great things of his life with calmness and composure, and in the same way he entered the long procession in which Alexander and Cæsar and Wellington and Napoleon had preceded him.

Adam Badeau.

U. H. Grant
Georgetown
Ohio

AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL GRANT WRITTEN WHILE AT WEST POINT, IN THE ALBUM OF A CLASSMATE.

[General Grant was christened Hiram Ulysses, and is said to have reversed the initials to avoid the humorous conjunction of them. In his commission as cadet the name was by mistake written Ulysses S., and as it could not be changed officially, he afterward adopted it, taking Simpson, a family name, for the second initial.—EDITOR.]

LINCOLN AND GRANT. Century, Oct. 1885

THE names of Lincoln and Grant will always be inseparably associated in connection with the events of the War of the Rebellion. At first thought they present two characters in American history entirely dissimilar. Their careers seem in striking contrast. One led the life of a civilian, and made his reputation as a statesman; the other was essentially a soldier, and is naturally classed amongst the great military captains of history. But upon a closer study of their lives, it will be found that the two men had many traits in common, and that there were many points of resemblance in their remarkable careers. Each was of humble origin, and had been compelled to struggle with adverse fortune, and learn the first lessons of life in the severe school of adversity. Each had risen from the people, possessed an abiding confidence in them, and always retained a deep hold upon their affection. Each remembered that though clothed in the robes of a master he was still the servant of the people. Both entered the public service from the same State, rose in life without the help of wealthy or influential friends, and owed every success to individual merit. Each might have said, to any who were inclined to sneer at his plain origin, what a marshal of France, who had risen from the ranks to a dukedom, said to the hereditary nobles who snubbed him in Vienna: "I am an ancestor; you are only descendants." Each was conspicuous for the possession of that most uncommon of all the virtues—common sense.

Both despised the arts of the demagogue, shrank from attitudinizing in public or posing before the world for effect, and looked upon the exercise of mawkish sentimentality and the indulgence in mock heroics with a righteous contempt. With them there was none of the puppyism which is bred by power, and none of that dogmatism which has been well described as puppyism grown to maturity. Each was endowed with talents especially bestowed upon him by Providence to meet the trying emergencies in which he was placed; each bore a patriot's part in securing the integrity of the Union; and each received from the people a second election to the highest office in their gift. Each had qualities which commanded the respect and admiration of the other, and where their characteristics were unlike, they only served to supplement each other, and to add to the strength which their combined powers exercised in the great cause in which they labored.

The acquaintance between the two men began by official correspondence, which afterwards became more personal in its tone, and when they finally met an intimacy sprang up between them which soon ripened into a genuine friendship. The writer of this article witnessed much of their intercourse; was often a listener to the estimates which each placed upon the other, and could not help being profoundly impressed with the extent to which these two historic characters became attached to each other.

They did not meet till March, 1864, and previous to that time had had but little personal correspondence. Most of the communications which the General received from the President had been in the form of executive orders sent through the War Department. Lincoln had early formed a high opinion of the Western general, in consequence of his victories at Donelson and Shiloh, and because he did not spend his time in calling for troops, but made the best use of those that were sent him. In other words, he was a man who asked for nothing, and gave the executive no trouble.

Grant's successes brought with them the usual number of jealousies and rivalries. Political generals had their advocates in Washington to plead their cause, while Grant stood without friends at court. His detractors gathered at times a great deal of strength in their efforts to supplant him with a general of their own choosing, and Lincoln was beset by many a delegation who insisted that nothing would harmonize matters in the West but Grant's removal. This nagging continued even after his great triumph at Vicksburg.

Lincoln always enjoyed telling the General, after the two had become personally intimate, how the cross-roads wiseacres had criticised his campaigns. One day, after dwelling for some time on this subject, he said to Grant: "After Vicksburg I thought it was about time to shut down on this sort of thing. So one day, when a delegation came to see me and had spent half an hour in trying to show me the fatal mistake you had made in paroling Pemberton's army, and insisting that the rebels would violate their paroles and in less than a month confront you again in the ranks, and have to be whipped all over again, I thought I should get rid of them best by telling them a story about Sykes's dog. 'Have you ever heard about Sykes's yellow dog?' said I to the spokesman of the delegation. He said he hadn't. 'Well, I must tell you about him,' said I. 'Sykes had a yellow dog he set great store by, but there were a lot of small boys around the village, and that's always a bad thing for dogs, you know. These boys didn't share Sykes's views, and they were not disposed to let the dog have a fair show. Even Sykes had to admit that the dog was getting unpopular; in fact it was soon seen that a prejudice was growing up against that dog that threatened to wreck all his future prospects in life. The boys, after meditating how they could get the best of him, finally fixed up a cartridge with a long fuse, put the cartridge in a piece of meat, dropped the meat in the road in front of Sykes's door, and then perched themselves on a

fence a good distance off with the end of the fuse in their hands. Then they whistled for the dog. When he came out he scented the bait, and bolted the meat, cartridge and all. The boys touched off the fuse with a cigar and in about a second a report came from that dog that sounded like a small clap of thunder. Sykes came bouncing out of the house, and yelled:

"'What's up! Anything busted?'"

"'There was no reply except a snicker from the small boys roosting on the fence, but as Sykes looked up he saw the whole air filled with pieces of yellow dog. He picked up the biggest piece he could find, a portion of the back with a part of the tail still hanging to it, and after turning it around and looking it all over he said, 'Well, I guess he'll never be much account again—as a dog.'" And I guess Pemberton's forces will never be much account again—as an army."

"The delegation began looking around for their hats before I had quite got to the end of the story, and I was never bothered any more after that about superseding the commander of the Army of the Tennessee."

About nine days after Vicksburg had fallen the President sent the following letter to General Grant, who was deeply touched by its frank and manly character, and the sincerity of its tone:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 13, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

A. LINCOLN.

The first time the two men saw each other was about one o'clock on the 9th of March, 1864, when General Grant called upon the President at the White House to receive the commission constituting him lieutenant-general of the armies. The General had arrived in Washington from the West the day before, and was on his way to establish his headquarters in Virginia. The interview took place in the Cabinet room. There were present, besides the members of the Cabinet, General Halleck, a member of Congress, two of General Grant's staff-officers, his eldest son,

Frederick D. Grant, and the President's private secretary. Lincoln, in handing the General his commission, read with much feeling a few words which he had written for the occasion, ending with the remark, "As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add that, with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence." The General took the commission very much as a graduate steps up and takes his diploma from the president of his college. He had written a brief reply on a sheet of paper, which he drew from his pocket and read. It closed as follows: "I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me; and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

In a subsequent conference the President talked very freely to General Grant about the conduct of the armies in the field. He said he did not pretend to know anything about the art of war, and it was with the greatest reluctance that he ever interfered with the movements of army commanders, but he did know that celerity was absolutely necessary, that while armies were sitting down, waiting for opportunities which might perhaps be more favorable from a military point of view, the Government was spending millions of dollars every day, that there was a limit to the sinews of war, and there would come a time when the spirits and the resources of the people would become exhausted. He had always contended that these considerations must be taken into account, as well as the purely military questions, and he adopted the plan of issuing his executive orders, principally for the purpose of hurrying the movements of commanding generals. He said nothing pleased him more than the fact that the grade of lieutenant-general had been revived by Congress, and that a general-in-chief of the armies had been put at their head, who he felt would appreciate the value of minutes. He told the General he was not going to interfere in any way with his movements, and all he had to do was to call on him for whatever he required, and it would be supplied if the resources of the nation could furnish it.

General Grant soon after entered upon the Wilderness campaign. Cheering messages were frequently sent him by the President, and a number of suggestions were made, but no orders were given for the movement of troops. Many characteristic telegrams were received from the President while the armies were in front of Richmond and Petersburg. One of them afforded Grant great amusement. It closed with the words, "Hold on with a

bull-dog grip and chew and choke as much as possible. A. LINCOLN."

Each tried to anticipate the desires of the other even in matters somewhat out of his particular sphere of action. At the first meeting they had in the field after actual operations had commenced in Virginia, Lincoln said to the General that there was a man who had got a permit at Washington to visit the armies and had abused his privilege by going around using seditious language and trying to stir up trouble among the loyal Virginians in that section of country. He asked the General whether he had heard of the fellow, saying he would have arrested him if he had known just where to catch him. The General replied that he had not heard of him; that if he had he should have arrested him and sent him to Fort Monroe without troubling the President with the matter or letting him know anything about it.

"I see," said the President, "you would have served me like the Irishman wanted the doctor to serve him. The doctor told him he would have to take a quinine tonic. The Irishman asked whether he would let him put some whisky in it, and the doctor said, not a drop; if he expected to be cured he must give up the use of whisky entirely. The Irishman thought a minute, and then remarked to the doctor in a sort of confidential way, 'I say, dochtor, when ye git yer medicine all ready couldn't ye jist put in a little whesky unbeknownce to me?' So when you got your man all ready I suppose you would have put him into Fort Monroe 'unbeknownce' to me."

The nearest Mr. Lincoln ever came to giving General Grant an order for the movement of troops was during Early's raid upon Washington. On July 10, 1864, the President telegraphed a long dispatch from Washington, which contained the following language: "What I think is that you should provide to retain your hold where you are certainly, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to defeat the enemy's force in this vicinity. I think there is really a fair chance to do this, if the movement is prompt. This is what I think—upon your suggestion, and is not an order." Grant replied that on reflection he thought it would have a bad effect for him to leave City Point, then his headquarters, in front of Richmond and Petersburg, and the President was satisfied with the dispositions which the General made for the repulse of Early without taking command against him in person.

It will be seen that the President did not call for assistance to protect Washington, but for troops and a competent leader to go after Early and defeat him. The President was

undoubtedly possessed of more courage than any of his advisers. There is not an instance in which he seemed to take counsel of his fears. He was always more anxious to have the troops around Washington sent to the field than kept in the fortifications about the capital. He sent a remarkable dispatch to the General on August 4, 1862, which shows his eagerness to have the troops in his vicinity placed "south of the enemy" instead of being kept between the enemy and Washington. It referred to an order which General Grant had sent to General Halleck, chief of staff at Washington, and was as follows:

"I have seen your dispatch in which you say, 'I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy, and follow him to the death; wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also.' This, I think, is exactly right as to how our forces should move; but please look over the dispatches you may have received from here since you made that order, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of 'putting our army south of the enemy,' or of 'following him to the death' in any direction. I repeat to you it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour and force it."

"A. LINCOLN."

This is the language of a man of courage, who felt a consciousness that he was bolder than those who counseled him at Washington, and wanted a man of Grant's aggressiveness to force the fighting, and send the troops about the capital after Early to get south of him, and follow him to the death, even if the capital had to go without defense.

On the 23d of November, when matters looked a little quiet along the lines, Grant visited the President in Washington, and spent most of the day with him and the Secretary of War conferring upon the military situation and the carrying out of some recommendations which the General had made regarding the armies in the field. His principal demand was to have eight useless major-generals and thirty brigadiers mustered out of the service to make room for the promotion of men who had won their spurs in the field. The President pointed to a number of names on the list and remarked that they were the General's own personal friends; but Grant urged the matter still more strenuously, saying that the emergency was too great to stop to consider personal feelings, and that those whose services could not be made available must give way to the rising men at the front. He succeeded in securing many vacancies in the list of generals, and the promotions which followed for meritorious services in the field did much for the morale of the armies.

On March 20, 1864, the General invited the President to visit him at City Point. The

invitation was accepted the next day, and the President arrived at the headquarters of the armies on the 22d, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and their youngest son "Tad." They had come down the Potomac and the Chesapeake Bay and up the James River on the *River Queen*, a comfortable little side-wheel steam-boat, which was convoyed by the United States gun-boat *Bat*, acting as an escort. This vessel had been a blockade-runner and had been captured by the navy and fitted up as a gun-boat. It was commanded by Captain J. S. Barnes, U. S. N. Upon the arrival of the steam-boat at the wharf at City Point General Grant and several members of his staff went aboard to welcome the presidential party. The President gave each one a hearty greeting, and in his frank and cordial way said many complimentary things about the hard work that had been done during the long winter's siege, and how fully the country appreciated it. When asked how he was he said,

"I am not feeling very well. I got pretty badly shaken up on the bay coming down, and am not altogether over it yet."

"Let me send for a bottle of champagne for you, Mr. President," said a staff-officer; "that is the best remedy I know of for sea-sickness."

"No, no, my young friend," replied the President, "I've seen many a man in my time sea-sick ashore from drinking that very article."

That was the last time any one screwed up sufficient courage to offer him wine.

The party had gathered in the after-cabin of the steam-boat, and in the course of the conversation the President said: "This cabin is the one in which I met the peace commissioners from Richmond,—Stephens, Campbell, and Hunter,—when they came down to Hampton Roads." The meeting referred to had occurred the month before. Alexander H. Stephens was the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. He will be remembered as being a mite of a man in stature and having a complexion as yellow as an ear of ripe corn. Mr. Lincoln went on to say: "Stephens sat where I am sitting now, Hunter sat over there, and Campbell lolled on the sofa to the right. Stephens had on an overcoat about three sizes too big for him, with an old-fashioned high collar. The cabin soon began to get pretty warm and after a while he stood up and pulled off his big coat. He slipped it off just about as you would husk an ear of corn. I couldn't help thinking as I looked first at the overcoat and then at the man, 'Well, that's the biggest shuck and the smallest nubbin I ever laid eyes on.'"

During his stay the President spent much of his time riding about with Grant among the

troops during the day, and sitting around the camp-fire at headquarters in the evening. The fire always had a fresh pile of dry rails thrown upon it, in his honor, and as he sat in a camp-chair with his long legs doubled up in grotesque attitudes, and the smoke of the fire curling around him, he looked the picture of comfort and good-nature. He always seemed to feel how much happier were the men who had only to meet Lee's troops in Virginia, and were never compelled to encounter that more formidable army of office-seekers in Washington. The stories he told on these occasions will never be forgotten, and the kindly face of the Chief Magistrate, with its varying expressions of mirth and sadness, will never be effaced from the memory of the men who watched it in those trying times. In the way of story-telling, those City Point nights gave promise of becoming as famous as the Arabian Nights.

Lincoln's stories were not mere anecdotes, they were illustrations. No one ever heard him relate anything simply for the amusement afforded by the story; it was always to illustrate the subject under discussion, or to give point to his statement. Whether he had treasured up in his memory an inexhaustible supply of stories to draw from, or whether he invented them as he went along, to illustrate his views, no one could tell. Perhaps both methods were employed. However this may be, there was hardly a remark made or an object shown to him which did not call to mind some story so pertinent to the subject that the dullest never failed to see the point of it. Nothing appeared to escape his recollection. A soldier once struck the idea when he said of him: "He's got a mighty fine memory, but an awful poor forgettery."

One evening the writer showed him a specimen of the new powder made for the fifteen-inch gun. The piece was about the size of an English walnut.

"What is this?" he asked.

"A grain of mammoth powder, the kind they are using in the fifteen-inch gun at Fort Monroe," was the reply.

"Well," said he, turning it over in his hand, "it is rather larger than the powder we used to buy in my shooting days. This reminds me of what once occurred in a country meeting-house in Sangamon County. You see, there were very few newspapers then, and the country store-keepers had to resort to some other means of advertising their wares. If, for instance, the preacher happened to be late in coming to a prayer-meeting of an evening, the shop-keepers would often put in the time while the people were waiting by notifying

them of any new arrival of an attractive line of goods.

"One evening a man rose up in the meeting and said:

"'Brethren, let me take occasion to say while we're a-waitin' that I have just received a new inv'ice of sportin' powder. The grains are so small you kin sca'cely see 'em with the nakid eye, and polished up so fine you kin stand up and comb yer ha'r in front of one o' them grains jes like it was a lookin'-glass. Hope you'll come down to my store at the cross-roads, and examine that powder for yourselves.'

"When he had got about this far a rival powder merchant in the meeting, who had been boiling over with indignation at the amount of advertising the opposition powder was getting, rose up and said:

"'Brethren, I hope you'll not believe a single word brother Jones has been sayin' about that powder. I've been down thar and seen it for myself, and I pledge you my word, brethren, that the grains is bigger than the lumps in a coal-pile, and any one of you, brethren, in your future state could put a bar'l o' that powder on your shoulder and march squar' through the sulphurous flames of the world below without the least danger of an explosion.'"

We thought that grain of powder had served a better purpose in drawing out this story than it could ever serve in being fired from a fifteen-inch gun.

On the 27th Sherman arrived at City Point, fresh from his triumphant march to the sea. Admiral Porter, who commanded the fleet, and had contributed so largely to the success of the operations by his brilliant services at Fort Fisher, was sent for, and he, with Grant and Sherman, went to pay their respects to the President on board his steamer. The meeting presented a historical scene which is one of the most memorable of the whole war. It was not a council of war, or even a formal military conference. It was an interchange of views between the four great representative men who at that moment seemed to hold the destinies of the republic in their hands. All were eager to hear more details of his march from the man who had cut so broad a swath through the heart of the Confederacy. Sherman's recital of the event was told with all his vividness of style and crispness of expression. The subject was a grand one and the narrative was a whole epic in itself. The President made no particular suggestions as to the campaign, but at the breaking up of the conference said good-bye to the distinguished company, with buoyant hopes of the future and renewed confidence in his commanders. He was always

willing that they should reap all the glory of the victories in the field. He was like the workmen employed upon the Gobelin tapestries who stand behind the cloth, and are content to work there, knowing they are contributing their full share to the beauties of the front.

General Grant now confided to the President his determination to move against Lee as soon as the roads were dry enough, and to make what he intended should be the final campaign. The President resolved to remain at headquarters until the army moved, and seemed glad of the opportunity of continuing some days longer the pleasant intercourse with the General-in-chief. Sitting by the camp-fire one evening he spoke very feelingly of the hopes and fears he had experienced at different times during the rebellion. The patriotism of the people, the devotion of the loyal North, the courage and superb fighting qualities of the troops on the one hand; on the other, the financial difficulties, the terrible losses in men, the disloyal element in the rear, and the threatening attitude of England and France. When asked if he ever doubted the final success of the cause, he said, "Never for a moment." Mr. Seward, he told us, had often said that there was always just enough virtue in this republic to save it; sometimes none to spare, but still enough to meet the emergency, and he agreed with Mr. Seward in this view. He said the capture of Mason and Slidell on board the English vessel, and the complications with Great Britain, which resulted at so critical a period of the war, had given him great uneasiness. When asked whether it was not a great trial to surrender them he said:

"Yes, that was a pretty bitter pill to swallow, but I contented myself with believing that England's triumph in the matter would be short-lived, and that after ending our war successfully we should be so powerful that we could call England to account for all the embarrassments she had inflicted upon us. I felt a good deal like the sick man in Illinois who was told he probably hadn't many days longer to live and he ought to make peace with any enemies he might have. He said the man he hated worst of all was a fellow named Brown, in the next village, and he guessed he had better commence on him first. So Brown was sent for, and when he came the sick man began to say, in a voice as meek as Moses', that he wanted to die at peace with all his fellow-creatures, and hoped he and Brown could now shake hands and bury all their enmity. The scene was becoming altogether too pathetic for Brown, who had to get out his handkerchief and wipe the gathering tears from his eyes. It wasn't long before he melted

and gave his hand to his neighbor, and they had a regular love-feast. After a parting that would have softened the heart of a grindstone, Brown had about reached the room door, when the sick man rose up on his elbow and said, 'But see here, Brown, if I *should* happen to get well, mind that old grudge stands!' So I thought that if this nation should happen to get well we might want that old grudge against England to stand."

As Mr. Lincoln abstained from interfering in purely military matters, so General Grant refrained from taking any action in political affairs. On the 2d of March, 1865, Lee wrote a very significant letter to Grant. From some remarks made in an interview which had occurred between General Longstreet and General Ord under a flag of truce, Lee conceived the idea that a military convention might be made the means of a satisfactory adjustment of the existing difficulties. He wrote General Grant a note in which the following language occurs:

"Sincerely desiring to leave nothing untried which may put an end to the calamities of war, I propose to meet you at such convenient time and place as you may designate, with the hope that upon an interchange of views it may be found practicable to submit the subjects of controversy between the belligerents to a convention of the kind mentioned."

General Grant looked upon this as referring to a subject entirely outside of his province, and forwarded it to the President. After some correspondence with him regarding it the General replied to Lee as follows:

"In regard to meeting you on the 6th inst. I would state that I have no authority to accede to your proposition for a conference on the subject proposed. Such authority is vested in the President of the United States alone. General Ord could only have meant that I would not refuse an interview on any subject on which I have a right to act, which, of course, would be such as is purely of a military character, and on the subject of exchanges, which has been intrusted to me."

So the interview never took place. General Grant's spirit of subordination was such that nothing ever led him into an act which might be construed as transcending his powers as a purely military officer. If the General had not had implicit confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the President he might not have restrained himself so easily from endeavoring to impress his views upon the Government in questions of general policy, but he had an abiding faith in the prudence and sagacity of the executive.

General Grant used to say of Lincoln, "I regard him as one of the greatest of men. He is unquestionably the greatest man I have ever encountered. The more I see of him

and exchange views with him, the more he impresses me. I admire his courage, and respect the firmness he always displays. Many think from the gentleness of his character that he has a yielding nature; but while he has the courage to change his mind when convinced that he is wrong, he has all the tenacity of purpose which could be desired in a great statesman. His quickness of perception often astonishes me. Long before the statement of a complicated question is finished his mind will grasp the main points, and he will seem to comprehend the whole subject better than the person who is stating it. He will take rank in history alongside of Washington."

Lincoln made many visits with Grant to the lines around Richmond and Petersburg. On such occasions he usually rode one of the General's fine bay horses, called "Cincinnati." He was a good horseman, and made his way through swamps and over corduroy roads as well as the best trooper in the command. The soldiers invariably recognized him and greeted him, wherever he appeared amongst them, with cheers that were no lip service, but came from the depth of their hearts. He always had a pleasant salute or a friendly word for the men in the ranks. His son, Robert T. Lincoln, had joined the General's staff some time before, with the rank of captain and aide-de-camp, and was doing good service at headquarters, where he made an excellent record. The practical experience acquired at that time in the field was of important service to him in after years in administering the affairs of the War Department.

One evening, upon return to camp after a ride among the soldiers, Mr. Lincoln said:

"General, you don't seem to have your horse decked out in as gay trappings as some of our generals, or to give yourself any particular trouble about the elegance of your uniform."

"No," said the General; "I once learned a lesson on that subject when I was serving under General Taylor in Mexico. He used to wear about the same kind of clothes and shoes as those issued to the privates, and generally rode a horse that looked as if it had just come off a farm. On the march he often rested himself by sitting woman-fashion on his saddle with both feet on the same side, and no one in the army gave less thought to his style of dress. One day, while in camp near Corpus Christi, he received a very formal note from the commodore in command of the naval squadron in the Gulf, saying he would go ashore the next day for the purpose of paying his respects in person to the commander of the army. General Taylor had a conviction that naval officers were great sticklers for etiquette, and on occasions of ceremony always looked as fine

as if they had just come out of a band-box; and not willing to be outdone by his web-footed visitor, the general set his servant at work to overhaul his wardrobe and burnish up his full-dress uniform, which had probably not been out of his chest since the war began.

"The commodore, it appeared, was a man who had as great a contempt for fine dressing as Taylor, but he had an idea that the commanding general of the army would expect a commodore of the navy to display no end of style in paying a visit of ceremony, and he was determined to exhibit a proper degree of respect in this regard, no matter what it cost in the way of inconvenience; so he ransacked the bottom of his locker for his best toggery, and the next day appeared on shore resplendent in white gloves, blue cloth, and gold lace. There was a broiling Southern sun pouring down, and by the time the commodore had walked from the landing to the general's quarters he was reeking with perspiration and looking as red as a boiled lobster. He found the general sitting in his tent, buttoned up to the chin in a well-wrinkled uniform coat, mopping his head with a handkerchief and swinging a big palm-leaf fan to help catch a breath of air. After these distinguished representatives of the sister services had indulged in profound bows, shaken hands, and exchanged compliments in a very formal and dignified manner, they sat down on opposite sides of a table, looked at each other for some minutes, and then a smile began to steal over their faces, which soon widened into a broad grin, and showed that they were both beginning to take in the absurdity of the situation.

"Oh! this is all nonsense!" said Taylor, pulling off his coat and throwing it to the other side of the tent.

"Infernal nonsense!" cried the commodore, jerking off everything but his shirt and trousers. Then they lighted a couple of pipes and had a good sensible talk over the military situation."

Mr. Lincoln was as good at listening as he was at story-telling; and as he gradually took in the absurdity of the scene described he became so convulsed with laughter that his sides fairly shook.

The President remained at headquarters till the armies moved out on the Appomattox campaign. General Grant and staff started about nine o'clock on the morning of March 29, 1865. They went by the military railroad as far as its terminus south of Petersburg and there took their horses. As the party mounted the car the President went through a cordial hand-shaking with each one, speaking many words of cheer and good wishes. As the train was about to move the party collected on the rear platform of the car and respectfully raised

their hats. The President waved a farewell with his long right arm and said, in a voice broken with emotion, "Good-bye, gentlemen. God bless you all. Remember your success is my success."

A few days after, when the lines around Petersburg had been carried and we were closing in about the city, the General telegraphed to City Point:

"... The whole captures since the army started out gunning will not amount to less than twelve thousand men and probably fifty pieces of artillery. . . All seems well with us and everything quiet just now. I think the President might come out and pay us a visit to-morrow."

Mr. Lincoln sent the following reply:

"Allow me to tender to you and all with you the nation's grateful thanks for the additional and magnificent success. At your kind suggestion I think I will meet you to-morrow."

The next day Petersburg had fallen, and about noon the President, accompanied by his son "Tad," joined General Grant in the city. They sat together for nearly two hours upon the porch of a comfortable little house with a small yard in front, and crowds of citizens soon gathered at the fence to gaze upon these remarkable men of whom they had heard so much. The President's heart was filled with joy, for he felt that this was "the beginning of the end." He revealed to the General many of his plans for the rehabilitation of the South, and it could easily be seen that a spirit of magnanimity was uppermost in his heart. They were anxiously awaiting dispatches from General Weitzel, in the hopes that he had already captured Richmond, but General Grant had to take up his march with the columns that had started in pursuit of Lee, before getting the much-coveted news. He had ridden only a short distance when he received a dispatch from Weitzel saying that Richmond had been taken several hours before.

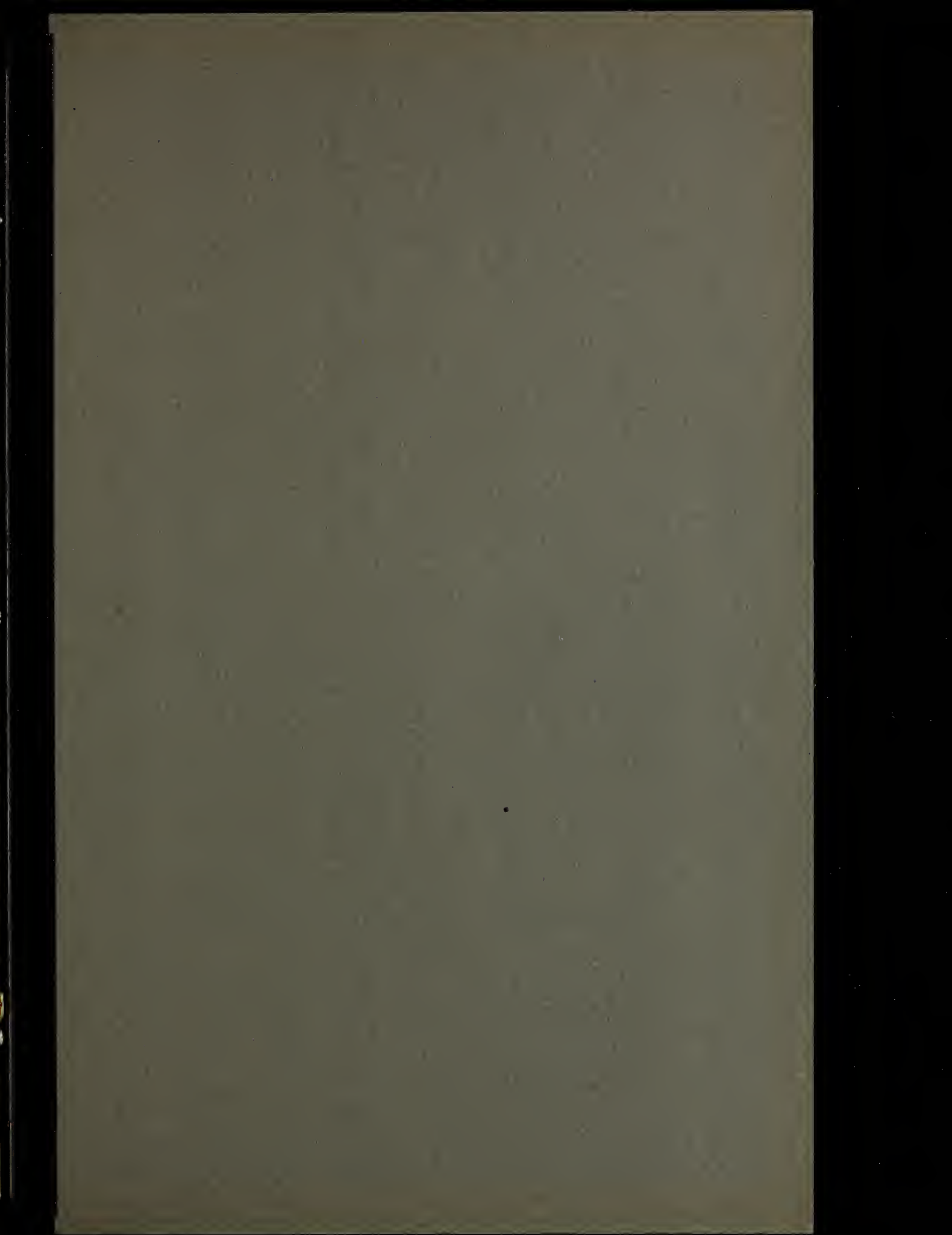
Immediately after the surrender at Appomattox Court House General Grant hurried to Washington, not even stopping to visit Richmond. His first thought was to take prompt measures for disbanding the armies and saving expenses. He arrived at the capital on the morning of the 13th of April. During that day he spent much of his time with the President, and took a drive through the city with Mrs. Lincoln. The people were wild with enthusiasm, and wherever the General appeared he was greeted with cheers, the clapping of hands, waving of handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of delight. The next day Lincoln invited the General to accompany him to Ford's Theater in the evening, and take a seat in his box to see the play of "Our American Cousin." The General

begged to be excused, saying Mrs. Grant was anxious to have him go to Burlington, New Jersey, where their children were at school, and he wanted to start as soon as possible. The President was somewhat urgent, and said the people would expect to see the General at the theater, and would be so much delighted to get a sight of him. While they were talking a note came from Mrs. Grant giving reasons for wanting to start that afternoon, and this afforded the General an excuse for declining the invitation to the play. When he bade the President good-bye, he little thought it would be the last time that he would ever see him alive. At lunch at Willard's Hotel, the General noticed a man who sat near him at table, and was apparently trying to overhear his conversation. As he drove to the railway station in the afternoon a man on horseback followed the carriage, and seemed to be the same person who had attracted his attention at lunch. This man was unquestionably John Wilkes Booth. Some time afterwards the General received an anonymous letter from a person who said he had been selected to kill him, and had boarded the train and ridden as far as the Delaware River with the intention of carrying out his purpose, but the car-door was locked, so he could not get in. He expressed himself as very thankful he had failed. The General had a special car, and it is a fact that the conductor locked it, so that there was this much to corroborate the man's story. Besides, it was shown upon the trial of the assassins that General Grant was one of the men marked for assassination. At the Walnut street wharf in Philadelphia, just as he was about to go on board the ferry-boat, he was handed a telegram conveying the appalling announcement that the chief he so much honored, the friend for whom he had conceived so warm an affection, had fallen, the victim of an assassin's bullet. The General returned at once to Washington. He often said that this was the saddest day of his whole life.

Twenty years later when he too had reached the full measure of his greatness his own death plunged the country again into a profound grief, the nation was called upon to put on the mourning it had worn for Lincoln, and the people suffered another loss which was felt by every one in the land with a sense of personal bereavement. The ashes of these two great central figures of the war now lie entombed in the soil their efforts saved; their names have passed into history.

Their devoted loyalty, steadfast courage, pure patriotism, and manly personal virtues will forever command the admiration of all who make a study of their lives. Between them the jealousy which springs from narrow minds

Amos Porter





GRANT ON LINCOLN.

THEIR FIRST INTERVIEW—THE PRESIDENT'S "MILITARY ORDERS" AND HIS PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

From Gen. Grant's Article on the Wilderness Campaign in the February Number of the *Century*: Although hailing from Illinois myself, the State of the President, I never met Mr. Lincoln till called to the Capital to receive my commission as Lieutenant-General. I knew him, however, very well and favorably from the accounts given by officers under me at the West who had known him all their lives. I had also read the remarkable series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas, a few years before, when they were rival candidates for the United States Senate. I was then a resident of Missouri, and by no means a "Lincoln man" in that contest, but I recognized then his great ability.

In my first interview with Mr. Lincoln alone he stated to me that he had never professed to be a military man or to know how campaigns should be conducted, and never wanted to interfere in them, but that procrastination on the part of commanders and the pressure from the people at the North and Congress, which was always with him, forced him into issuing his series of "military orders"—one, two, three, etc. He did not know but they were all wrong, and did know that some of them were. All he wanted, or had ever wanted, was some one who would take the responsibility and act, and call on him for all the assistance needed, pledging himself to use all the power of the Government in rendering such assistance. Assuring him that I would do the best I could with the means at hand, and avoid as far as possible annoying him or the War Department, our first interview ended.

The Secretary of War I had met once before only, but felt that I knew him better. While commanding in West Tennessee we had occasionally held conversations over the wires at night, when they were not being otherwise used. He and Gen. Halleck both cautioned me against giving the President my plans of campaign, saying that he was so kind-hearted, so averse from refusing anything asked of him, that some friend would be sure to get from him all he knew. I should have said that in our interview the President told me that he did not want to know what I proposed to do. But he submitted a plan of campaign of his own which he wanted me to hear and then do as I pleased about. He brought out a map of Virginia on which he had evidently marked every position occupied by the Federal and Confederate armies up to that time. He pointed out on the map two streams which empty into the Potomac, and suggested that the army might be moved on boats and landed between the mouths of these streams. We would then have the Potomac to bring our supplies, and the tributaries would protect our flanks while we moved out. I listened respectfully, but did not suggest that the same streams would protect Lee's flanks while he was shutting us up. I did not communicate my plans to the President, nor did I to the Secretary of War, or to Gen. Halleck.

Grant and Lincoln

Grant and Lincoln.

Very many interesting War reminiscences are rehearsed at the panorama of the Battle of Bull Run in this city. A couple of veterans were discussing War matters there this morning, when one said:

"I was present when Grant bade President Lincoln good-by at Culpepper Court-House, Va., when he started on to Richmond with the Army of the Potomac. Mr. Lincoln said: 'General, I don't want to hear of your retreating toward Washington.' There was a twinkle showing sadness in the warrior's eyes, and for a second he seemed to be swallowing something. Finally he replied:

"If I do one small boat will carry my army across the Potomac."

"It would have done any man good to have seen the expression of gratitude and confidence, mixed with pride, shining out of 'Old Abe's' face when Gen. Grant said this. Mr. Lincoln had the utmost confidence in Gen. Grant's courage and tact, and when he left him he knew that Richmond would succumb."

—Washington Letter.

1887

LINCOLN AND GRANT.

The Only Accurate and Lifelike Photographs in Existence.

[From the New York Sun.]

In 1864 Gen. Grant came to Washington to receive his commission as Lieutenant Gen-

and printed. The pictures here represent these discarded negatives of 1864. This is probably the only true likeness of Abraham Lincoln in existence. It has all the natural defects of the actual face. The smoothing hand of the photographer, usually applied to all negatives, has never been laid upon it. It gives the man as he was, with every element of his character expressed. There is a melan-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

eral. After that ceremony was over—if ceremony it could be called between two such simple men as Grant and Lincoln—some one suggested that the occasion deserved its commemoration to the extent of a photograph

and choly deadness about the eyes that makes it very striking. The lower lip is surprisingly prominent. Whoever looks at it could easily appreciate that the original carried all the cares which he was known to bear, but until the eye rests upon the forehead, one's con-



ULYSSES S. GRANT

of each of the principals. So they went and were photographed. A negative of each was regarded as unsatisfactory by the photographer and thrown aside. A short while ago they were recovered

ception of Lincoln's intellectual power is not satisfied.

Gen. Grant's face is less marked. It is the portrait of a much younger man. It has all the strength of its subject.

HOW GRANT MET LINCOLN.

THE FIRST INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE SOLDIER AND THE STATESMAN.

GENERAL HORACE PORTER'S STORY OF THE HISTORIC OCCURRENCE—LINCOLN'S FRANK.

CONFESSION OF HIS IGNORANCE OF THINGS MILITARY.

From advance sheets of the November Century.

On the evening of March 8 the President and Mrs. Lincoln gave a public reception at the White House, which I attended. The President stood in the usual reception-room, known as the Blue Room, with several Cabinet officers near him, and shook hands cordially with everybody, as the vast procession of men and women passed in front of him. He was in evening dress, and wore a turned-down collar a size too large. The necktie was rather broad and awkwardly tied. He was more of a Hercules than an Adonis. His height of six feet four inches enabled him to look over the heads of most of his visitors. His form was ungainly, and the movements of his long, angular arms and legs bordered at times upon the grotesque. His eyes were gray and disproportionately small. His face wore a general expression of sadness, the deep lines indicating the sense of responsibility which weighed upon him; but at times his features lighted up with a broad smile, and there was a merry twinkle in his eyes as he greeted an old acquaintance and exchanged a few words with him in a tone of familiarity. He had sprung from the common people to become one of the most uncommon of men.

Mrs. Lincoln occupied a position on his right. For a time she stood on a line with him and took part in the reception, but afterward stepped back and conversed with some of the wives of the Cabinet officers and other personal acquaintances who were in the room. At about 9:30 o'clock a sudden commotion near the entrance to the room attracted general attention, and, upon looking in that direction, I was surprised to see General Grant walking along modestly with the rest of the crowd toward Mr. Lincoln. He had arrived from the West that evening, and had come to the White House to pay his respects to the President. He had been in Washington but once before, when he visited it for a day soon after he had left West Point. Although these two historical characters had never met before, Mr. Lincoln recognized the General at once from the pictures he had seen of him. With a face radiant with delight, he advanced rapidly two or three steps toward his distinguished visitor, and cried out: "Why, here is General Grant! Well, this is a great pleasure, I assure you," at the same time seizing him by the hand, and shaking it for several minutes with a vigor which showed the extreme cordiality of the welcome.

THE MEETING.

The scene now presented was deeply impressive. Standing face to face for the first time were the two illustrious men, whose names will always be inseparably associated in connection with the War of the Rebellion. Grant's right hand grasped the lapel of his coat; his head was bent slightly forward, and his eyes upturned toward Lincoln's face. The President, who was eight inches taller, looked down with beaming countenance upon his guest. Although their appearance, their training and their characteristics were in striking contrast, yet the two men had many traits in common, and there were numerous points of resemblance in their remarkable careers.

Each was of humble origin, and had been compelled to learn the first lessons of life in the severe school of adversity. Each had risen from the people, possessed an abiding confidence in them, and always retained a deep hold upon their affections. Each might have said to those who were inclined to sneer at his plain origin what a marshal of France said to the hereditary nobles who attempted to snub him in Vienna: "I am an ancestor, you are only descendants." In a great crisis of their country's history both had entered the public service from the same State. Both were conspicuous for the possession of that most uncommon of all virtues, common sense. Both despised the arts of the demagogue, and shrank from posing for effect or indulging in mock heroics. Even when their characteristics differed, they only served to supplement each other, and to add a still greater strength to the cause for which they strove. With hearts too great for rivalry, with souls untouched by jealousy, they lived to teach the world that it is time to abandon the path of ambition when it becomes so narrow that two cannot walk it abreast.

THE HERO IN A CROWD.

The statesman and the soldier conversed for a few minutes, and then the President presented his distinguished guest to Mr. Seward. The Secretary of State was very demonstrative in his welcome, and after exchanging a few words, led the General to where Mrs. Lincoln was standing, and presented him to her. Mrs. Lincoln expressed much surprise and pleasure at the meeting, and she and the General chatted together very pleasantly for some

minutes. The visitors had by this time become so curious to catch a sight of the General that their eagerness knew no bounds, and they became altogether unmanageable. Mr. Seward's consummate knowledge of the wiles of diplomacy now came to the rescue and saved the situation. He succeeded in struggling through the crowd with the General until they reached the large East Room, where the people could circulate more freely. This, however, was only a temporary relief. The people by this time had worked themselves up to a state of uncontrollable excitement. The vast throng surged and swayed and crowded until alarm was felt for the safety of the ladies. Cries now arose of "Grant! Grant! Grant!" Then came cheer after cheer. Seward, after some persuasion, induced the General to stand upon a sofa, thinking the visitors would be satisfied with a view of him and retire; but as soon as they caught sight of him their shouts were renewed, and a rush was made to shake his hand. The President sent word that he and the Secretary of War would await the General's return in one of the small drawing-rooms, but it was fully an hour before he was able to make his way there, and then only with the aid of several officers and ushers.

The story has been circulated that at the conference which then took place, or at the interview the next day, the President and the Secretary of War urged General Grant to make his campaign toward Richmond by the overland route, and finally persuaded him to do so, although he had set forth the superior advantages of the water route. There is not the slightest foundation for this rumor. General Grant some time after repeated to members of his staff just what had taken place, and no reference whatever was made to the choice of these two routes.

LINCOLN'S IGNORANCE OF WAR.

He said: "In the first interview I had with the President, when no others were present, and he could talk freely, he told me that he did not pretend to know anything about the handling of troops, and it was with the greatest reluctance that he ever interfered with the movements of army commanders; but he had common sense enough to know that celerity was absolutely necessary; that while armies were sitting down waiting for opportunities to turn up which might, perhaps, be more favorable from a strictly military point of view, the Government was spending millions of dollars every day; that there was a limit to the sinews of war, and a time might be reached when the spirits and resources of the people would become exhausted. He had always contended that these considerations should be taken into account, as well as purely military questions, and that he adopted the plan of issuing his executive orders principally for the purpose of hurrying the movements of commanding generals; but that he believed I knew the value of minutes, and that he was not going to interfere with my operations. He said, further, that he did not want to know my plans; that it was, perhaps, better that he should not know them, for everybody he met was trying to find out from him something about the contemplated movements, and there was always a temptation 'to leak.' I have not communicated my plans to him or to the Secretary of War. The only suggestion the President made—and it was merely a suggestion, not a definite plan—was entirely impracticable, and it was not again referred to in our conversations."

Why Lincoln Believed in Grant

After Grant's defeat at the battle of Shiloh, he said, "I thought I was going to fail, but I kept right on." It is the same "keeping right on" that wins in the battle of life. After the battle of Shiloh, nearly every newspaper of both parties in the north, almost nearly every member of congress and public sentiment everywhere demanded Grant's removal. Even his friends appealed to Lincoln to give the command to some one else, for his own sake as well as to save the country. Lincoln listened to these stories with patience until the clock struck one in the morning, and then, after a long silence, said, "I cannot spare this man; he fights." When the illustrated papers everywhere were caricaturing him, when no epithets seemed harsh enough to heap upon him, when his policy was criticised by his own party, and the war generals were denouncing his foolish confidence in Grant, he, too, manifested indomitable grit and absolutely refused to remove the man in whom he had unwavering faith.

When Lincoln was asked how Grant impressed him as a general, he replied: "The greatest thing about him is the cool persistency of purpose. He has the grip of a bulldog; when he once gets his teeth set in, nothing shakes him off." It was "On to Richmond!" and I propose to on fight it this line, if it takes all summer," that characterized the silent general.

Both Lincoln and Grant had that real nerve which cares not for ridicule and is not swerved a hair's breadth from the right by public clamor, and they both knew how to bear abuse and hatred.

Pure grit is an element of character which enables a man to clutch his aim with an iron grip and to keep the needle of his purpose pointing true to the North Star of his hope through sunshine and storm, through hurricane and tempest,

through sleet and rain. Even with a sinking ship, and with a crew in mutiny, it still persists and perseveres. In fact nothing but death can subdue the highest king of grit, and it dies still struggling.

A man of grit carries in his very presence a power which controls and commands; he is spared the necessity of declaring himself, for his grit speaks in his very act. Clear grit inspires sublime audacity and heroic courage in emergencies and danger. A man of grit sticks to the thing he has begun and carries it through; he believes he was made for the place he fills, and that no one else can fill it as well.

No man can expect to get very far in this world, or to succeed to any very great extent, who lacks grit,—that solid substantial quality which enters into the very structure,

the very tissue of the constitution, which stiffens the backbone, which braces the nerves, and which gives confidence to the faculties and reinforces the entire man. An irresolute, weak, wavering man may be nervy in an emergency, and even plucky, but pure grit is a part of the very substance and character of strong men alone.

Many of our generals in the Civil War exhibited great heroism. They were plucky and often displayed great determination, but Grant had a quality which rose above the pluck of his generals; he had pure grit in the most concentrated form. He could not be cajoled, coaxed, convinced or moved from his purpose; he was self-centered, self-sufficient, independent, immovable.

No matter if the papers did call him a blunderer, or an incompetent; he would simply light another cigar and sit in silence. No matter if they did try to induce him to discontinue his plans for a campaign; he would remain in silence and smoke on. Nothing could move him from his mighty purpose.—April Success.

SUCCESS

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AN EPIGRAM ON GENIUS

ERNEST NEAL LYON

Euphonious title,—conceived by a shirk,
Distressed by the harsh monosyllable, WORK!

"Do that which is assigned thee, and thou canst not hope too much or dare too much."

"Nothing of worth or weight can be achieved with half a mind, with a faint heart or lame endeavor."

"Work that is not finished is not work at all; it is merely a botch, an abortion."

Profits can be made in only one way; losses may creep into business in a thousand ways.

Learn to say kind things about people; it will help you wonderfully.

"It is the hour of man: new purposes, broad-shouldered, press against the world's slow gate."

GRANT BEFORE VICKSBURG.

An Incident of the Late War Between the States.

By J. H. ROCKWELL.

[Copyright, 1910, by American Press Association.]

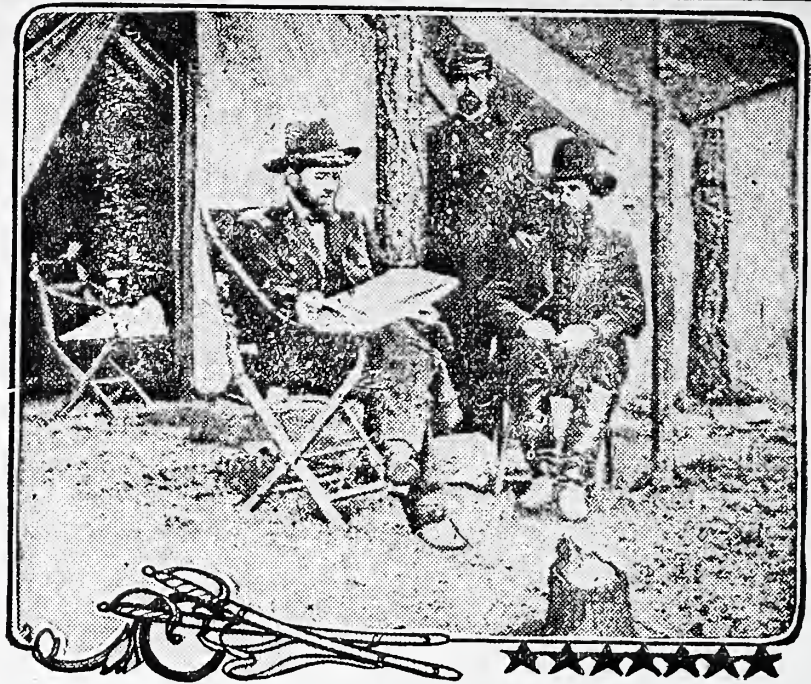
IN the latter part of 1862, when General Grant was preparing to make a movement by land to reach the rear of Vicksburg, in accordance with the plans he had made for the capture of that city, he saw that he did not have a sufficient number of men to command success and that it was imperative that he should have 8,000 or 10,000 more. His plans had been sent to Washington and approved, but to his request for men the answer came that he must go ahead with the force already under his command. In response to this Grant informed the president that he could not do it, that the attempt would end in failure and that the expedition would better be abandoned than attempted without re-enforcements. Determined



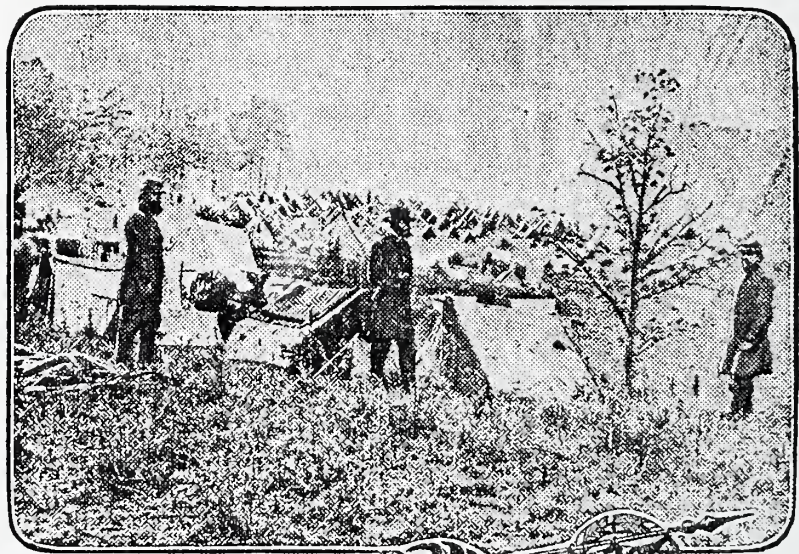
that the war department should fully understand the situation, he ordered a former member of his staff, General M. D. Leggett of Ohio, then commanding one of his brigades, to proceed to Washington and lay the whole matter before Mr. Lincoln and the secretary of war. General Leggett had a personal acquaintance with Secretary Stanton and knew there was little hope of changing his mind when once made up and accordingly decided to gain access to the president before the secretary of war should forestall him by the presentation of the war department side of the case. He therefore called upon the secretary at 8 o'clock in the morning of the day after his arrival and said to him: "Mr. Stanton, I wish you would take me to Mr. Lincoln, introduce me to him and let me do the talking. I don't want you to ruin my case with objections."

"All right," was the response, and the call was made. General Leggett was permitted to present General Grant's idea as fully and clearly as possible, while Mr. Lincoln listened.

When he had concluded the president took him in hand and gave him the most severe and critical cross examination he had ever undergone as to the situation in the west, Grant's purposes, etc. Mr. Stanton added several



GRANT AT THE FRONT, 1863.



CAMP OF FRENCH'S BRIGADE, VIRGINIA, 1864.

questions of his own, and when he had ended the president quietly remarked, "Well, he must have the troops."

"But where will you get them?" asked the secretary.

Turning to General Leggett, the president said, "How many men must he have?"

"Sixteen thousand," General Leggett responded.

Turning to the secretary, the president asked a series of questions as to the disposition of certain forces not then in the field—how many were at Cleveland, how many at Detroit, how many here and how many there—until he had gone over the available force in the west and had demonstrated that 12,000 or 16,000 troops could be sent to Grant.

Then Mr. Lincoln asked General Leggett when he intended to leave Washington.

"At 5 p. m.," the general answered.

"Well, I want you until then," said Mr. Lincoln.

A carriage was ordered and the two entered it and were driven to the Soldiers' home, where the president was then living. Of all the questioning and close examinations General Leggett had ever experienced those of that day were the most severe.

It must be borne in mind that the Grant who was then planning so great and important a

move as the reduction of Vicksburg was not the Grant of Appomattox, but only of Donelson and Henry, and known then to neither Mr. Lincoln nor fame, as in the later days. But the president was determined to learn all he could from the witness then present, and as General Leggett was loyal in heart as well as in

speech to his chief and had already had a dawning realization of the great



QUESTIONING GENERAL LEGGETT.

figure Grant was to play in the civil war his responses were clear and to the point and visibly impressed Mr. Lincoln as being as true as they were complimentary.

General Leggett returned to the west, and when the Union troops marched into Vicksburg he had the honor, although suffering from severe wounds, to ride into that city at the head of the First brigade, which was granted the privilege of being the first to enter, receive the surrender and raise the Union flag.

Knaut
Knickerbocker,
March 9, 1914.

FIFTY years ago to-day Ulysses S. Grant received from the hand of Abraham Lincoln his commission as lieutenant general, entitling him to command all the armies of the United States.

This historical event took place in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Besides the President and Gen. Grant, there were present the members of the Cabinet, one of the President's private secretaries, Gen. Grant's eldest son, Fred, two members of Gen. Grant's staff, and Gen. Henry W. Halleck, who, as General-in-Chief of the Army had been legislated out of his position when Congress revived the grade of lieutenant general for the benefit of Grant. Henceforth Gen. Halleck was to be retained as chief of staff to the President, who, by virtue of his office, was Commander-in-Chief. In fact, Gen. Halleck had never been more. Although highly educated in military matters, he had never shown capacity for accepting the responsibilities of his position.

Gen. Grant, who had arrived in Washington the day before and lodged at Willard's Hotel, arrived at the White House a few minutes before 1 o'clock and was ushered into the Cabinet Room, where most of the Cabinet were already assembled.

Grant was ill at ease and embarrassed when he was presented to these representatives of the Government. He had never associated enough with men in public life to look upon them with confidence. He had a shy and constrained way of shaking hands with them which revealed his mental attitude toward them.

Sec. of the Navy Gideon Welles, who kept a diary, noted that Grant displayed "a degree of awkwardness" when he met the President the night before at a reception at the White House and that he was now "somewhat embarrassed."

Lincoln to Grant.

Lincoln had arranged for a formal exchange of speeches in presenting Grant with his commission and had supplied Grant with a copy of what he intended to say in order that Grant might write a reply to it. He had also requested Grant to say something that would "obliterate any jealousy on the part of other generals," and would put him "on as good terms as possible with the Army of the Potomac."

The company having all arrived, the President, who had been seated, rose and stood before Gen. Grant. Beside Grant stood his young son and the two members of his staff. The President read from a small slip of paper the following:

"General Grant—The Nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done, in the existing great struggle, you are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United

States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak goes my own hearty concurrence."

Lincoln's secretary, John G. Nicolay, noted that Grant's reply was "hurriedly written" one half a piece of note paper in lead pencil.

"His embarrassment was evident and extreme," wrote Nicolay. "He found his own writing very difficult to read, but what he said could hardly be improved."

Grant to Lincoln.

Grant's reply was as follows:

"Mr. President—I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields for our common country it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both Nations and men."

It will be observed that Grant had disregarded the President's request to make specific mention of the Army of the Potomac, although he had covered the ground admirably in his reference to all the Armies. He had avoided any reference whatever to other generals. In this evidently he considered it wiser not to enter upon his duties with a declaration that might be construed as an evidence of weakness.

Grant's character was so great that he could not sympathize with the more subtle method of Lincoln, in endeavoring to introduce into the situation utterances that would soften the disappointment of men over whom Grant had risen, or to bespeak the favor of the soldiers in an army to which he was known only by reputation.

Asked to Take Richmond.

The business of the presentation of the commission being dispatched, Grant was more at ease. A general conversation on the military situation followed, lasting about half an hour. Grant joined in it, speaking of the excellent service rendered by Sherman in his recent operations in Mississippi, across which he had made a march from Vicksburg to Meridian, with 20,000 men, with the purpose of breaking up railroads used by the enemy.

Grant next asked the President what special service was expected of him. Lincoln replied that the country wanted him to take Richmond, saying "Our generals have not been fortunate in their efforts in that direction," and asked Grant if he could do it.

Grant without hesitation answered that he could if he had the troops. These, the President assured him, he should have. Nothing was said about the route to be followed in the advance upon Richmond. Statements made in the subsequent political campaign to the effect that Lincoln requested that the advance be made by way of the James river, and that Grant declined to consider it, had no foundation in fact.

It was noted, however, that Grant made no reference to his plans; not even Lincoln knew what they were.

Grant had come to Washington inclined to decline the appointment to supreme command, unless he could be assured that he would have complete control of the Federal armies without interference from Washington. He had imposed no such condition upon Lincoln, however. As it developed later, there was no need of his doing so; a tacit understanding had been created instantly that Lincoln was not to ask Grant to divulge his plans.

Indeed, Lincoln was so delighted with Grant, so convinced that he was the man the country had been seeking since the war began, to lead its armies, that he is said to have exclaimed after first meeting Grant, "Thank God, I've got a general at last!"

The interview at the White House ended. Grant turned immediately to the work before him. The day was rainy, but he spent it in inspecting the defenses of Washington. He had come to Washington thinking he would return to the West and command there, as before his promotion. He now saw that Virginia was his field, and he was prepared to depart at once for the camps of the army of the Potomac.

This he did on the following morning, the purpose of his visit being to make a swift survey of the army and of the country in which it was encamped. He intended then to return to Nashville to close up his affairs there and turn over the command of the military division of the Mississippi to Sherman.

He then planned to return to Washington in time to begin an advance against Lee's army late in April or in early May at the least.

WHEN LINCOLN AND GRANT FIRST MET.

Sole Survivor of the Historic Meeting Recalls the Occasion and Quotes the Informal Words of Greeting.

(By Fred Davis.)

1914

Washington, D. C., March 11.—Special correspondence: On March 8, 1864, fifty years ago last Sunday, occurred the first meeting between President Lincoln and Gen. Grant, and there lives in Washington today a man who witnessed this first meeting between the two great figures of the civil war. He is Charles W. Richards, who for more than fifty years has been connected with the stationery room of the United States senate and now is chief there. Mr. Richards was appointed to his position with the senate upon the recommendation of Senator Charles Sumner and Senator Henry Wilson. He is a native of Massachusetts and was appointed from that state. Mentally and physically Mr. Richards is active and vigorous. This week he has been recalling incidents connected with the historic meeting between Lincoln and Grant just half a century ago.

"Congress had just passed the act creating the rank of lieutenant general of the army," said Mr. Richards. "While it was well understood at the time that it was for the benefit of Gen. Grant, he was not named in the bill. It was the first time congress had authorized the rank to be conferred in the army since Gen. George Washington held it. President Lincoln had summoned Gen. Grant to come to Washington from the field to confer about the appointment. Grant had

arrived at 8 o'clock at the old Willard hotel. At 9:30 he showed up at the White House. I was there. It was a kind of reception, as I recall. The affair was proceeding in an informal way, the president, some members of his cabinet and Mrs. Lincoln being in the red room, where persons were being received. The affair was suddenly interrupted by a cry: 'Here comes Gen. Grant!' Immediately President Lincoln left his place in the receiving line and hurried to the door leading to the red room from the vestibule, where he met Gen. Grant coming into the room. He promptly recognized him, although they had never met before. My curiosity led me to the center of interest. I heard Mr. Lincoln say, 'Gen. Grant, I believe this is the first time we have ever met.' To which Gen. Grant replied, 'Yes, Mr. President, you are right. This is the first time we have ever met.'

"The rest of the conversation was lost to me as the two men came closer together and moved away talking in lower

tones. I recall that Seward and Stanton crowded forward and greeted the general and that Mrs. Lincoln also greeted him cordially. Soon Gen. Grant was hustled into the east room, and as he sat on the sofa he was surrounded by a great crowd. He seemed modest and somewhat bored by the attention showered upon him.

"I do not believe there is another man alive who witnessed that affair, and I doubt if there is any alive who can recall the first words that ever passed between Lincoln and Grant. It was understood in Washington at the time that there was some doubt about Grant ac-

cepting the commission. He took the position that if it required him to relinquish active duty in the field to come to Washington he preferred not to accept it. It was finally arranged that he should continue in active duty in the field and to take charge of the movement 'on to Richmond,' which was much talked in that day."

Some of Lincoln's Sayings About Grant.

A few weeks after Grant had been made lieutenant general, in reply to the question: "What sort of a man is Grant?" Lincoln said: "Well, I hardly know what to think of him altogether. He is the queerest little fellow you ever saw. He makes the least fuss of any man you ever knew. I believe two or three times he has been in this room a minute or so before I knew he was here. Its about so all around. The only evidence you have he's in any place is that he makes things move."

After answering several other questions, the president was asked: "But how about Grant's generalship? Is he going to be the man?" To which he replied with some emphasis and gestures: "Grant is the first general I've had; he's a general." "How do you mean, Mr. Lincoln?" his visitor asked. "Well, I'll tell you what I mean," replied Lincoln; "you know how its been with the rest. As soon as I'd put a man in command of the army he'd come to me with a plan of campaign; and as much as to say: 'Now, I don't believe I can do it, but if you say so I'll try it on,' and so put the responsibility of success or failure on me. They all wanted me to be the general. Now, its not so with Grant. He has not told me what his plans are; I don't know, and I don't want to know. I am glad to find a man who can go ahead without me."—February 24, 1886.

First Time That President Lincoln and General Grant Greeted Each Other.

1865

THERE is a man in the public service in Washington who saw the first meeting between President Lincoln and General Grant in the White House nearly sixty years ago.

Charles H. Richards, who for more than fifty years has worked in the stationery room of the senate, saw the meeting. In an interview Mr. Richards narrated the incidents connected with the meeting and recalled the first words ever exchanged between the two great figures on the Union side of the Civil war. Mr.



Richards was appointed to his position in the senate stationery room on the recommendation of Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson. He is a native of Massachusetts and was appointed from that state.

"Congress had just passed the act creating the rank of lieutenant general of the army," said Mr. Richards. "While it was well understood at the time that it was for the benefit of General Grant, he was not named in the bill. It was the first time congress had authorized the rank to be conferred in the army since General Washington held it.

"President Lincoln summoned General Grant to Washington from the field to confer about the appointment. Grant arrived at 8 p. m. at the old Willard hotel. At 9:30 he showed up at the White House. I was there.

"It was a kind of reception, as I recall. The affair was proceeding in an informal way, the president, some members of his cabinet, and Mrs. Lincoln being in the red room, where persons were being received.

"The affair was suddenly interrupted by a cry, 'Here comes General Grant!'

"President Lincoln immediately left his place in the receiving line and hurried to the door leading to the red room from the vestibule, where he met President Grant. He promptly recognized the general, although they had never met before. My curiosity had led me to the center of interest.

"I heard Mr. Lincoln say: 'General Grant, I believe this is the first time we have ever met.'

"To this General Grant replied: 'Yes, Mr. President, you are right. You are right; this is the first time we have ever met.'

"The rest of the conversation was lost to me, as the two men came closer together and moved away, talking in lower tones. I recall that Seward



and Stanton crowded forward and greeted the general and that Mrs. Lincoln also greeted him cordially.

"General Grant soon was hustled into the east room and as he sat on a sofa he was surrounded by a great crowd. He seemed modest

and somewhat bored by the attention showered upon him.

"I do not believe there is another man alive who witnessed that affair, and I surely doubt if there is another alive who can recall the first words that ever passed between Lincoln and Grant.

"It was understood in Washington at the time that there was some doubt about Grant accepting the commission. He took the ground that if it required him to relinquish active duty in the field and come to Washington he would prefer not to accept it. It was finally arranged that he should continue in active duty in the field and take charge of the movement 'on to Richmond,' which was much talked about in that day."

A Visit to Lincoln In Wartime

MAJOR GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE, famed both as a commander in the civil war and as the chief engineer during the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, wrote for private circulation a book of personal reminiscences of Lincoln, Grant and Sherman, each of whom he knew, the last two intimately. In the book General Dodge recounts a number of anecdotes of Lincoln not generally known.

He tells of a visit he paid to President Lincoln at the White House at a time when the chief executive was greatly worried over the command of the Union forces because he was receiving so many demands that Grant be relieved of the command. General Dodge writes:

"When I arrived at Washington and went to the White House to call on President Lincoln I met Senator Harlan of my state in the anteroom, and he took me in to see the president. It happened to be at the hour when the president was receiving the crowd in the antechamber next to his room. Senator Harlan took me up to him immediately and presented me to him. President Lincoln received me cordially and said he was very glad to see me. He asked me to sit down while he disposed of the crowd. I sat down and waited. I saw him take each person by the hand and in his kindly way dispose of them. To an outsider it would seem that they all got what they wanted, for they seemed to go away happy.

"I sat there for some time and felt that I was overstaying my time with him, so stepped up and said that I had merely called to pay my respects and that I had no business and so would say goodby. President Lincoln turned to me and said: 'If you have the time I wish you would wait. I want to talk with you.'

"I sat down again and waited quietly until he had disposed of the crowd. When he was through he took me into the next room. He saw that I was ill at ease, so he took down from his desk a little book called 'The Gospel of Peace.' I think it was written by Artemus Ward and was very humorous. He opened the book, crossed his legs and began to read a portion of a chapter which was so humorous that I began to laugh, and it brought me to myself.

"When he saw that he had got me in his power he laid the book down and began to talk to me about my visit to the Army of the Potomac and what I saw. He did not say a single word about my own command or about the west, showing his whole interest was in the Army of the Potomac. While we were sitting there talking we were called to lunch.

"During the meal he talked about the Army of the Potomac and about Grant and finally led up to the place where he asked me the question of what I thought about Grant and what I thought about his next campaign.

"Just as he asked the question we got up from the table. I answered: 'Mr. President, you know we western



HIS WHOLE INTEREST WAS IN THE ARMY
OF THE POTOMAC.

men have the greatest confidence in General Grant. I have no doubt whatever that in this next campaign he will defeat Lee. How or when he is to do it I cannot tell, but I am sure of it.'

"He shook my hand in both of his and very solemnly said, 'You don't know how glad I am to hear you say that.'

"I did not appreciate then what a great strain he was under—not until reading Welles' celebrated diary, showing that Lincoln had no person around him to advise him; that everything he did was from his own thoughts and decision. It is a wonder to me that he ever got through the war so successfully. I did not know then that Lincoln's table was piled with letters demanding the change of Grant, declaring that his campaign was a failure and wanting to have a different commander sent, etc.

"When I was ready to leave I thanked President Lincoln for what he had done for me and asked if there was anything I could do for him. He said, 'If you don't care I would like to have you take my respects to your army.'"

As Related by the Late Gen. Frederick D. Grant



I was my great good fortune to be with my father, close at his side, much of the time during the Civil War; when I had the opportunity of seeing and listening to many of the noble and distinguished men who were loyally serving their country during the great struggle; thus I had the honor and happiness of seeing and meeting our revered and martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. **1. 27. 1923**

In looking back to those dark days of the Civil War, I have distinct personal recollections of the first two meetings between President Lincoln and my father, General U. S. Grant. These two occasions seem to my mind the most momentous and memorable in the history of our nation, as these meetings marked the beginning of the end of our great struggle for the existence of our nation.

The principal and determined efforts of President Lincoln's administration were directed to the preservation of the Union, which, naturally, could not be accomplished without the success of the Union armies in the field. Up to the Spring of 1864 the progress of the Civil War had not been satisfactory to the people of the North, and little success had been accomplished except in the victories at Donelson, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga.

TO GRANT, THE LEADER

After the campaign of Chattanooga, the President and the people of the United States turned impulsively to General Grant as the leader of the Union Armies, and a bill was introduced in Congress reviving for him the grade of Lieutenant-General, which grade had died with Washington (though Scott had held it by brevet). The enthusiastic members of the House of Representatives received the bill with applause. They made no concealment of their wishes, and recommended Grant by name for appointment. The bill passed the House by a two-thirds majority; and the Senate, with only six dissenting votes.

President Lincoln seemed impatient to put Grant in this high grade, and said he desired to do so to relieve himself from the responsibilities of managing the military forces. He sent the nomination to the Senate, and General Grant, who was at Nashville, received an order from the Secretary of War, to report in person at Washington. In compliance with this order, he left Chattanooga on March 5, for Washington, taking with him some members of his staff. My father allowed me to accompany him there, I having been with him during the Vicksburg campaign and at Donelson. We reached Washington on the afternoon of March 7, and went direct to Willard's Hotel. After making our toilets, my father took me with him to the dining room. There I remember seeing at the table next to where we were seated, some persons who seemed curious, and who began to whisper to each other. After several moments one of the gentlemen present attracted attention by pounding on the table with his knife, and when silence was secured, arose and announced to the assembled diners that he had "the honor to inform them that General Grant was present in the room with them." A shout arose, "Grant! Grant! Grant!" People sprang to their feet wild with excitement, and three cheers were proposed, which were given with wild enthusiasm. My father arose and bowed, and the crowd began to surge around him; after that, dining became impossible and an informal reception was held for perhaps three-quarters of an hour,

but as there seemed to be no end to the crowd assembling, my father left the dining room and retired to his apartments. All this scene was most vividly impressed upon my youthful mind.

Senator Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, ex-Secretary of War, soon called at the hotel for my father, and accompanied him, with his staff, to the White House, where President and Mrs. Lincoln were holding a reception.

FELL BACK IN SILENCE

As my father entered the drawing-room door at the White House, the other visitors fell back in silence, and President Lincoln received my father most cordially, taking both his hands, and saying, "I am most delighted to see you, General." I myself shall never forget this first meeting of Lincoln and Grant. It was an impressive affair, for there stood the Executive of this great nation, welcoming the Commander of its armies. I see them now before me—Lincoln, tall, thin, and impressive, with deeply lined face, and his strong, sad eyes—Grant, compact, of good size, but looking small beside the President, with his broad, square head and compressed lips, decisive and resolute. This was a thrilling moment, for in the hands of these two men was the destiny of our country. Their work was in cooperation, for the preservation of our great nation, and for the liberty of men. They remained talking together for a few moments, and then General Grant passed on into the East Room with the crowd which surrounded and cheered him wildly, and all present were eager to press his hand. The guests present forced him to stand upon a sofa, insisting

that he could be better seen by all. I remember that my father, of whom they wished to make a hero, blushed most modestly at these enthusiastic attentions, all present joining in expressions of affection and applause. Soon a messenger reached my father calling him back to the side of Mrs. Lincoln, and with her he made a tour of the reception rooms, followed by President Lincoln, whose noble, rugged face beamed with pleasure and gratification.

When an opportunity presented itself for them to speak privately, President Lincoln said to my father, "I am to formally present you your commission tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, and knowing, General, your dread of speaking, I have written out what I have to say, and will read it; it will be only four or five sentences. I would like you to say something in reply which will soothe the feeling of jealousy among the officers, and be encouraging to the nation." Thus spoke this great and noble peacemaker to the general who so heartily coincided with him in sentiments and work for union and peace.

When the reception was over at the White House, my father returned to Willard's Hotel, where a great crowd was again assembled to greet him and remained with him until a late hour of the night. After the crowd had dispersed, my father sat down and wrote what he intended to say the following day in receiving his commission promoting him to the Lieutenant-Generalcy and to the command of the Union armies.

LINCOLN TO GRANT

Father proceeded to the White House a few minutes before ten o'clock the next



Maj. Gen. Fred D. Grant

I feel deeply grateful to have been present when these two patriots met, on the occasion when they loyally promised one another to preserve the Union at all costs. I preserve always, as a treasure in my home, a large bronze medallion which was designed by a distinguished artist at the request of the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, upon the happy termination of our great Civil War, and which is a beautiful work of art. Upon this bronze medallion are three faces, in relief, with the superscription: "Washington the Father, Lincoln the Saviour, and Grant the Proserver"—emblematic of great and patriotic trinity.

morning, permitting me to accompany him. Upon arriving there, General Grant and his staff were ushered into the President's office, which I remember was the room imme-

diately above what is now known as the Red Room. There the President and his Cabinet were assembled, and after a short and informal greeting, all standing, the President faced General Grant, and from a sheet of paper read the following:

"General Grant: The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, you are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States.

"With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

My father taking from his pocket a sheet of paper containing the words he had written the night before, read quietly and modestly, to the President and his Cabinet:

"Mr. President: I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities devolving upon me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nation's and men."

President Lincoln seemed to be profoundly happy, and General Grant deeply gratified. It was a supreme moment when these two patriots shook hands, in confirming the compact that was to finish our terrible Civil War and to save our united country, and to give us a nation without master and without slave.

From the time of these meetings, the friendship between the President and my father was most close and loyal. President Lincoln seemed to have absolute confidence in General Grant, and my father always spoke of the President with the deepest admiration and affection. This affection and loyal confidence was maintained between them until their lives ended.





She would n't grasp the full significance at first. No one ever did. What would she want to do? Go back to that house, or stay here in the hospital for the night? Bentham would arrange things. He'd better get home. But he'd have to pass the door of the waiting-room.

There was no sound of voices as he approached. Bentham, competent and watchful, stood by the mantelpiece, and the girl was on her feet, facing him. As he reached the hallway, he felt reluctant to leave, but what could he do? He'd only be in the way — an intrusion.

Slowly he went down the broad steps and turned westward. But from the corner he looked back. That gray façade with lights showing here and there. Those narrow rooms, the long dim wards. Life coming, life going. . . . A little old lady, settling into her pillow: 'Oh, the morphia's so good, so good, dearie.' Amid the fumes of ether, a bandaged, broken figure stirring, groping. . . . A dark face staring out above the housetops. Cancer? They had n't said it, but he knew it — and they knew he knew it. Quite so: one did n't call these things by name; it would be like uttering an obscene word in a lady's drawing-room. Someone was whistling in the next room. It was that boy. He was going out to-morrow, so the nurse said. Going out — back to the world of toiling, and getting, and begetting. Youth? What did it matter? But he would like for an hour to lie in warm grass on a cliff, and look out at the blue level of the horizon. For an hour — and smoke a cigar.

Somewhere, in some corner behind that gray wall, the stiffening body of that old man.

Stanton strode away — fled, the narrow empty street echoing to the sharp click of his footfalls. A district

of dingy rooming-houses gave way to rows of cheap modern apartments with shining brass bells in lighted vestibules. He crossed a railroad bridge and entered a broad square flanked by a church — a towering, dank cliff. The streets beyond widened out, their smooth, clean-swept pavement gleaming like ice. He followed an elm-lined avenue and turned into his own street. There was old Ashley's house on the corner, a window on the second floor open a few inches; old Ashley in there, snoring.

Slowly he went up the steps of his own house, feeling for his keys. Freedom? Before the outer door he paused and looked up and down the street. That girl — he would like to have said a word to her.

He let himself into the secure, warm hall. Freedom. . . . He felt as if he had come back from a great distance. The South of France? Two miles, scarcely, that hospital, that district of slatternly rooming-houses. He looked up at the mellow Dutch painting above the low fireplace of Caen stone. Reality? Unreality?

There had been a light in the library. He turned abruptly and went up the stairs.

His wife was lying on the sofa, the novel tossed on the floor beside her. She yawned delicately.

'W-ell,' she said, 'I thought you were lost!'

'No. Just chewing the rag with Bentham.'

She sat up and smoothed her hair. 'I've decided to have the car black.'

'What? . . . Oh, yes — the car. Black?'

He looked down at the hearth. The fire had gone out, leaving two charred sticks like gnawed bones lying across the irons. He kicked them back.

'Black, my dear. Black, by all means.'

SOLDIERS AND STATESMEN OF THE CIVIL WAR

II. LINCOLN AND GRANT

BY GENERAL SIR FREDERICK MAURICE

Collected in 1926

THE public which gives its sons to fight is in time of war subjected to a novel and exhausting strain. Even the more phlegmatic Anglo-Saxon peoples tend in such times to become neurotic, and are apt to be aroused to enthusiasm or indignation on very slight grounds. This is one of the difficulties with which the statesmen of modern democracies must reckon. The experienced soldier knows how manifold are the chances and the uncertainties of war, how incomplete in normal circumstances is the information on which he has to make decisions; he is only too aware that with the highest skill and the best judgment he cannot hope to guess right all the time. It is the duty of the statesman to know this, too, for the public does not read the Maxims of Napoleon and is not aware that the victory falls to the general who makes fewest mistakes; it judges by results and readily becomes intolerant of any error which has caused loss of life. The statesman who understands his business will stand between his soldiers and hasty popular judgment. Both Lincoln and Davis have it to their eternal credit that they did this, and prevented the outstanding military figures of the war from being swept by blasts of popular criticism into oblivion in the early days of the conflict.

McClellan's easy success in Western Virginia caused the Northern public to

hail him as a hero. The Southern public expected, when Lee was sent to the same theatre, that he would return with greater glory than had been won by the Northern general. It did not, it could not, know that Lee's problem was entirely different from McClellan's. Lee failed to obtain results and therefore was condemned. So it happened that, while he was in the act of preparing those masterly combinations which saved Richmond, Davis had to support him against the outspoken and sarcastic comments of the Southern press. In this case Davis, knowing Lee, backed his own judgment against that of the public, to find it triumphantly vindicated.

Lincoln had not had Davis's opportunities of becoming acquainted with the officers of the army of the United States. He did not know Grant, and could only judge of him as the public did, by his performances in the field. On April 6, 1862, Grant made, at the battle of Shiloh, a blunder which could be retrieved only by a heavy sacrifice of life. Public feeling was immediately stirred. Stories of the failing which had caused his resignation from the army were revived, and it was even said, on no evidence at all, that he had been drunk during the battle. Lincoln was pressed to remove him, but the President remembered that at a time when his other generals were finding abundant reasons for inaction Grant had

captured Forts Henry and Donelson, and that, if he had made a mistake at Shiloh, that mistake caused him not to retreat but to attack. His answer came pat to those who sought Grant's disgrace: 'I cannot spare this man. He fights.'

As late as March 1863, when the remarkable campaign which ended in the fall of Vicksburg had begun, Grant was still being pilloried in the Northern press. His troops, struggling with the floods of the Mississippi, had a hard life. 'Visitors to the camp,' Grant tells us, 'went home with dismal stories to relate; Northern papers came back to the soldiers with the stories exaggerated. Because I would not divulge my ultimate plans to visitors they pronounced me idle, incompetent, and unfit to command men in an emergency, and clamored for my removal.' Lincoln said at this time: 'I think Grant has hardly a friend except myself.' He wanted a fighter, and, believing that he had found such a one in General Grant, he stuck to him against all opposition.

In May 1863, before any decisive success had been won in the campaign for the control of the Mississippi, Lincoln had grasped what Grant was at, and had him informed that he had 'the full confidence of the Government.' 'With all the pressure brought to bear upon them,' Grant writes, 'both President Lincoln and General Halleck stood by me to the end of the campaign. I had never met Mr. Lincoln, and his support was constant.' Such should be, but too often is not, an invariable rule with statesmen in their relations with commanders in the field. The generals must be supported or removed; to keep them in command when they have evidence that they are distrusted at home is to place upon them a burden which may break them, and will certainly make it harder for them to win

victories. Yet in 1917 we find the French Government, on the eve of a great campaign, making it evident to the French commander, General Nivelle, that it had no confidence in his plans, while retaining him in military control and directing him to proceed with his battle. The story of Lincoln's early relations with Grant is evidence that it was no eagerness on the President's part to do the work of his soldiers, nor any dislike of soldiers in general, which brought about the friction between himself and McClellan.

Neither Lincoln's support nor the triumph of Vicksburg made Grant a popular hero. The critics had been chanting too recently upon one note to change enthusiastically to another. Indeed, few at the time realized the full significance of Vicksburg and of Gettysburg. The memories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville were too fresh to let men rejoice without fear of some early disillusionment. But when, in November 1863, Grant put energy and decision into the halting operations of the Union forces in Tennessee and won the victory of Chattanooga, the first genuine Thanksgiving since the outbreak of the Civil War was made possible, and the North realized that it had found a man. The rank of Lieutenant-General was revived for Grant, and he was summoned to Washington to be Commander-in-Chief of the Union forces.

I

In his account of his first interview with the President, Grant says Lincoln told him that all he wanted or had ever wanted was someone who would take responsibility and act and call on him for all the assistance he needed, and he pledged himself to use all the power of the Government in rendering such assistance. 'The President told me he

did not want to know what I proposed to do.'

It needed some severe self-control on Lincoln's part to say that. He had formed the habit of going daily to the War Department, and there, studying the latest telegrams and the maps with the position of the troops marked, he had taken to reading books on strategy and had been accustomed to make suggestions for their military movements to his generals. His brain was of that not uncommon type which finds delight in the intellectual exercise of framing military plans. Even now, when he had found his man and given him his complete confidence, he could not resist the temptation to produce a plan of campaign.

'He submitted,' Grant goes on, 'a plan of campaign of his own which he wanted me to hear and then do as I pleased about. He brought out a map of Virginia on which he had evidently marked every position occupied by the Federal and Confederate armies up to that time. He pointed out on the map two streams which empty into the Potomac, and suggested that the army might be moved on boats and landed between the mouths of these streams. We would then have the Potomac to bring our supplies and the tributaries would protect our flanks while we moved out. I listened respectfully, but did not suggest that the same streams would protect Lee's flanks while he was shutting us up.' That little story should be on the desk of every minister who finds himself in office during war.

When Grant assumed the chief control of the Union forces, effective unity of command was for the first time achieved in the North. He planned a great campaign against the Confederacy from the north, from the west, and from the coast, and decided himself to

accompany the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Meade, in its operations against Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. By thus keeping his most formidable opponent under his eye, and by selecting for the Army of the Potomac a line of advance which he believed would sufficiently cover the capital, while the Shenandoah Valley was controlled by another force of Federal troops, he allayed the anxieties for the safety of Washington which had proved the undoing of others. Halleck became Chief of the Staff and remained in Washington to act as the channel of communication between Grant and the Government, and as the interpreter of the soldier's military language. This arrangement, arrived at early in 1864, was not merely practical and sensible: it was ahead of any system for the conduct of war which had been devised in Europe until von Moltke, in 1866 and 1870, displayed the Prussian methods to an astonished military world.

The encouragement which Lincoln had given Grant when the soldier was in the West naturally tended to make relations between them easy when they met. But, apart from this, Grant was exactly fitted by character and mentality to coöperate with the President. He had not Lee's extraordinary skill in manœuvre, but he had the vision to see the military problem of the Union as a whole, the imagination to draw his plans on a big scale, the courage to stick to his plans in adversity, and a real understanding of the responsibilities and anxieties of the Government. He was not a talker, though he could express his ideas on paper clearly and succinctly; he was a man of action who thought before acting and knew his own mind, and that was the type of man for which Lincoln had been seeking.

'You are vigilant and self-reliant'

wrote the President to him soon after Grant had taken the field, 'and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any restraints or constraints upon you. . . . If there be anything wanting in my power to give, do not fail to let me know. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.'

The pages of the *Official Records* are a clear indication of the change which Grant's appointment made in the conduct of the war. Until the Lieutenant-General entered upon his functions the correspondence between Lincoln and his generals had been frequent and voluminous. On the part of the soldiers it often consisted of complaints of the inefficiency of the administration or of requests for guidance upon matters which they should have decided for themselves; on Lincoln's part it comprised too frequently suggestions for military manœuvres forced from him because his generals showed doubts and hesitations. From March 1864 all this ceased. The bulk of Grant's correspondence was addressed to Halleck; he and the President rarely exchanged letters, and the latter, relieved from many worries and perplexities, became definitely master of his house. Grant took an early opportunity of assuring the powers in Washington of his gratitude for their zeal in supplying his needs, a pleasing change from the usual tenor of correspondence from the army. Soldier and statesman set about their business without interfering each with the other, and consequently the work of both prospered. This does not mean that Lincoln handed over to another his responsibility for the conduct of the war. The statesman cannot divest himself of such responsibility, and Lincoln made no attempt to do so. He read every line of Grant's reports and followed all his movements with the closest attention.

II

Grant's plan was to combine all the forces of the Union, naval and military, east and west, in one great co-ordinated effort, and with these forces 'to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our community to the Constitutional laws of the land.' The Northern forces were to work together with one object, that object being to deprive the centrally placed enemy of his chief weapon, manœuvre, by fastening on to his armies and compelling them to fight often and to fight hard. Some of the details of the execution of this plan may be criticized as lacking in finesse and as causing avoidable loss of life, but it gave to the Union forces a definite goal and a precise purpose for their efforts, which had been lacking heretofore, and was the simplest method of bringing the superior military power of the North into play.

Grant's appointment had been hailed with enthusiasm in the North, and the hopes which it aroused ran high. The appearance of a new commander in war is generally the signal for an outburst of popular acclamation. But a public always greedy for results quickly becomes impatient if it does not get them, and impatience is apt to change to disappointment and anger. When Grant's eagerly expected advance began and was followed by the long lists of casualties from the battlefields of the Wilderness, of Spotsylvania, and of Cold Harbor, grief produced anxieties which turned to grumblings against the new Commander-in-Chief. These grumblings had their political reactions, which, with the approach of the presidential election, were of importance. On July 2, 1864, Congress

moved the President to appoint a day of humiliation and prayer.

The situation was, indeed, not unlike that which, in 1916, followed the close of the battle of the Somme. That great battle, the first in which the British Empire was engaged as a whole, brought mourning into thousands of homes, and opened the eyes of the British public to the cost of a struggle for national existence. In return for the terrible price paid, the gains which the map showed appeared insignificant, and the exhaustion of the German armies, which Ludendorff has since disclosed to us, was unknown to the citizen if it was more than suspected by the soldiers. It is not surprising in the circumstances that the Allied statesmen wavered in their confidence in their generals, and determined to have 'no more Sommes.'

With the recent memory of those days in our minds, we may the more admire Lincoln's firmness and constancy. A few days after the ill-planned and costly assault at Cold Harbor he told Grant: 'I have just read your dispatch. I begin to see it. You will succeed. God bless you all.' Here was a reinforcement to Grant worth many thousands of men. Lincoln, having made up his mind to keep Grant, supported him when he most needed support; he saw that Grant was wearing out Lee's army and holding to it so tight that it could not manœuvre, and he told him that he both understood and approved. Two months later, on August 16, 1864, when Grant's assault upon Lee's lines at Petersburg had failed, when despondency in the North had again become general, and the demands for a peace of accommodation were increasing, Lincoln again wrote: 'I have seen your dispatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with

a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible.' This message, which gave Grant as clear an endorsement of his policy as any soldier could desire, is the more remarkable in that it followed on a mistake of Grant's which might well have shaken the President's confidence in him, and was sent at the time when Lincoln's political difficulties probably were greater than they were at any other period of the war.

III

When Grant moved the Army of the Potomac across the James to the siege of Petersburg, he was no longer well placed to supervise and direct the other forces of the Union. He had left a force in the Shenandoah Valley to block that favorite line of Confederate invasion; but this force, unskillfully handled, had been manœuvred out of the Valley in the middle of June by a Confederate contingent under Early, who promptly marched for the Potomac, crossed it, and moved on to Washington, arriving before the capital on July 11.

Now Early's force was far more formidable than Jackson's, which had created such alarm two years before, and the garrison of Washington in July 1864 was far weaker than that which McClellan had left when he sailed for the Yorktown Peninsula. Yet the contrast of the effect in Washington of Early's and Jackson's raids is remarkable. Grant had, of course, been informed of Early's progress and had dispatched troops to cover Washington, but the information had come to him somewhat tardily, and the troops had not arrived when Early was in Maryland and within a day's march of the scantily garrisoned forts covering the capital. In spite of this there were none of the hectic and ill-considered orders which Lincoln and Stanton had

showered upon their perplexed generals in 1862. Instead we find Lincoln telegraphing to Grant on July 10: 'General Halleck says we have absolutely no force here fit to go to the field. He thinks that with the 100-days men and the invalids we have here we can defend Washington and scarcely Baltimore. . . . Now what I think is that you should provide to retain your hold where you are certainly, and bring the rest with you personally, and make a vigorous effort to destroy the enemy's forces in this vicinity. I think there is really a big chance to do this if the movement is prompt. This is what I think upon your suggestion and is not an order.'

The calls upon Lincoln for help against the bold raider came from all parts of Maryland and of Pennsylvania in 1864 as they had in 1862, but they were very differently answered. Here is his reply to one urgent appeal for troops: 'I have not a single soldier but who is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. Let us be vigilant and keep cool. I hope neither Washington nor Baltimore will fall.'

Neither Washington nor Baltimore fell, though it is possible that Early might have been able, on July 11, to get some troops into the capital for a few hours. Actually, he retreated on learning that the transports with Grant's troops had arrived off Washington. Grant well knew that the reënforcements he had sent would be ample to drive Early back, and he knew too that the purpose of the raid was to cause him to weaken his pressure on Petersburg. Therefore he replied to the President's suggestion that he himself should come to Washington with more troops: 'I think on reflection it would have a bad effect for me to leave here.' Lincoln accepted that decision without

question, and that acceptance, indeed the whole incident, displays his implicit confidence in Grant — a confidence due not to blind trust but to the effect upon Lincoln's mind of close and continuous observation of the soldier's methods and actions. Most of Lincoln's correspondence with Grant begins with the words 'I have seen' or 'I have read your dispatch'; and as proof that very little escaped the President's eye it may be mentioned that once, when — during the siege of Petersburg — the usual supply of Richmond newspapers did not reach Washington, Lincoln promptly telegraphed to know the reason for the intermission. Grant was well aware that there was in Washington one ready to support him when he needed help, to give him a hand if he tripped, to remove him if he failed. Lincoln left Grant to his task, but he did not leave him without control and assistance.

Early's raid, which might under a looser system of conducting war have saved Richmond, as it was saved in 1862, had no military results for the Confederacy save the material and supplies which he captured, and this was due to the relations Lincoln had established with his Commander-in-Chief. In fact, the one serious military consequence of the raid was Grant's determination to close finally the famous covered way from Virginia into Maryland, which had so vexed his predecessors and eventually himself. For that purpose, and at Lincoln's instigation, he personally supervised the preparation of Sheridan's expedition, which not only prevented the Confederates from again using the Valley as a means of relieving the dangers to Richmond, but also deprived Lee's army in the lines of Petersburg of its most convenient granary.

I have said that Grant personally directed the preparation for the last

campaign in the Shenandoah Valley at Lincoln's instigation. He had told Halleck from his headquarters before Petersburg what he wanted done, and on reading this communication Lincoln had at once telegraphed to him: 'I have seen your dispatch in which you say, "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes let our troops go also."' This I think is exactly right, but . . . I repeat to you that it will not be done nor attempted unless you watch it every day and hour and force it.' Promptly came the answer: 'I start in two hours for Washington.'

But the sequel showed how truly Lincoln had understood the situation and the men around him. One visit from Grant did not suffice, for the cautious Halleck and the nervous Stanton were holding Sheridan's ardor in chains. Grant gives us an account of his second visit. 'On the fifteenth of September I started to visit General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. My purpose was to have him attack Early and drive him out of the Valley and destroy that source of supplies for Lee's army. I knew that it was impossible for me to get orders through Washington to Sheridan to make a move, because they would be stopped there, and such orders as Halleck's caution (and that of the Secretary of War) would suggest would be given instead. . . . When Sheridan arrived I asked him if he had a map showing the positions of his army and that of the enemy. He at once drew one out of his pocket, showing all roads and streams and the camps of the two armies. He said that if he had permission he could move so and so (pointing out how) and he could "whip them." . . . I asked him if he could be ready

to get off by the following Tuesday. This was on Friday. Oh yes, he said, he could be off before daylight on Monday. I told him then to make the attack at that time and according to his plan.'

Again we see the fallacy of supposing that Lincoln left Grant entirely to himself. Sheridan's Valley campaign was due primarily to the President's initiative and judgment. He no longer intervened as he had done in May 1862; he had learned how to intervene wisely and opportunely.

IV

But I must return to the message of August 16, telling Grant to play the bulldog. If the one military result of Early's raid was to bring Sheridan down upon him, it had serious political consequences. The appearance of Confederate troops nearer to Washington than they had ever been before, and in more formidable guise, caused many in the North to despair of victory. These persons held that Grant's campaign had demonstrably failed, and that his fierce assaults upon Lee's lines had been so much useless butchery. Early in August, Horace Greeley had gone to Niagara Falls to meet a party of Confederate Commissioners, and a few weeks later he was imploring the President 'to inaugurate or invite proposals for peace forthwith,' while two other unofficial negotiators went to Richmond, where they met Davis. The wily Southern President, well aware of the feeling of depression in the North, was at pains to explain to them how much more favorable was the military situation of the South. Furthermore, the opposition to the Conscription Act, which had recently become law, threatened to provoke serious disturbances in several states. Even the gallant Army of the Potomac was at the time

depressed by the failure of its assaults on the Petersburg lines; while, to crown Lincoln's embarrassments, McClellan was preparing to take the field as a rival in the presidential campaign, with a plank in the party platform declaring the war to be a failure. The one bright spot was Farragut's victory on August 3 over the Confederate fleet at Mobile Bay.

Now Grant had undoubtedly been to blame for not preventing the cause of this public unrest, the appearance of Early before Washington. He had not watched events in the Shenandoah Valley closely enough, and he had not made sufficient provision for the protection of the capital, and he had timed the arrival of reinforcement to meet Early too finely. In such circumstances the head of the Government might well have said to him, 'You have let me into a pretty mess. For God's sake stop your bloody assaults; the public can't stand any more losses at present. Give me some showy success somewhere to enable me to restore confidence.' Instead he told Grant to play the bulldog and 'chew and choke,' and in so doing he thought of nothing but what was the right military policy, when he had every temptation to urge what was politically expedient. In every prolonged war there arises a time for both contestants when the strain has all but reached the breaking point. Victory then falls to that side which has the man with the courage and the vision and the skill to splice the rope and call for another pull. Such a man was Abraham Lincoln.

The President had not long to wait for the reward of his constancy. Within three weeks of his telling Grant to hold on, Sherman had entered Atlanta, and within five weeks Sheridan had twice defeated Early in the Valley, at Winchester and Fisher's Hill. On September 3, Lincoln was able to reply to

the demand for a day of humiliation which Congress had made two months earlier by calling for a day of thanksgiving for the victories of Farragut and Sherman, victories which had resolved political doubts and made his reelection certain.

But even when the success of Grant's combination against the Confederacy was becoming patent to the most pessimistic, Lincoln continued to watch his general as carefully as he did when fortune seemed to be withholding her smiles. I could furnish many proofs of this, but will be content with one more. In February 1865, Sheridan had completed his task of clearing the Shenandoah Valley, and Grant wanted his cavalry to move toward Richmond and help in the process of gradually overlapping Lee's lines around Petersburg. A part only of this correspondence appears to have been seen by Lincoln, and that part announced Sheridan's departure from the Valley. On February 25 the President telegraphed to Grant: 'General Sheridan's dispatch to you of to-day in which he says he "will be off on Monday" and that he will have behind him about five thousand men causes the Secretary of War and myself considerable anxiety. Have you considered whether you do not again leave open the Shenandoah Valley entrance to Maryland and Pennsylvania or at least to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?' Grant's answer explained that Sheridan was referring to his cavalry only and that ample troops had been left to close the Valley entrance to Northern territory. This message actually crossed another from Lincoln, saying that he had discovered Sheridan's meaning and apologizing to Grant for having troubled him. This little incident, due to a misinterpretation of correspondence speedily rectified and trifling in itself, shows at least that Grant was under no illusion that even

the smallest of his actions were unobserved; and, while he had every reason to be confident that the President would not interfere with his military functions, he knew that he might at any moment be asked to explain either a commission or an omission.

V

But it was not only in his correspondence with Grant that Lincoln showed how nicely he appreciated the functions of the civil and the military power in war. As the hold of the Union upon Southern territory grew firmer, attempts were made to organize some form of government in the occupied territory. Certain of the Northern generals found themselves in difficulties when confronted by the, to them, unwonted task of reconciling military necessities with civil government. In August 1864, General Butler proposed to settle such difficulties with the inhabitants by taking a popular vote. Lincoln promptly wrote him: 'Nothing justifies the suspending of the civil by the military authority but military necessity, and of the existence of that necessity the military commander and not a popular vote is to decide. Whatever is not within that necessity must be left undisturbed.' Similar problems arose in West Mississippi, where General Curly was in command. To him Lincoln wrote: 'I do not wish either cotton or the new state government to take precedence of the military while the necessity for the military remains, but there is strong public reason for treating both with so much favor as may not be substantially detrimental to the military.'

Lincoln had in fact worked out a definite formula for the relations between statesmen and soldiers in a democracy at war, and that formula has not since been improved. That

he was fully conscious of the dangers of an excessive exercise of his dictatorial powers, and of the necessity of adjusting to a nicety the claims of military necessity and of popular control, is shown by a little speech which he made on November 10, 1864, two days after his reelection to the Presidency, to a party of supporters who had come to serenade him: 'It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our government to a severe test, and a presidential election . . . added not a little to the strain. . . . In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we will have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged.'

It is in the belief that 'the incidents of this' may still be studied 'as philosophy to learn wisdom from' that I have prepared these papers.

Before I say good-bye to Lincoln and Grant I must give a last example to show how clear was the line which the President had drawn in his mind between the functions of policy and strategy. In the last days of February 1865 the agony of the Confederacy was nigh and there were suggestions for a conference between Lee and Grant with the object of reaching a settlement. Grant applied to Washington for instructions and the answer came from the War Secretary, but it had been drafted by Lincoln himself: 'The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army or on some minor and purely military matter. He

instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions.'

When that famous meeting between Lee and Grant took place at Appomattox Court House, Lincoln made no attempt to dictate to Grant the terms of surrender to be imposed upon the Army of Northern Virginia, that being a 'purely military matter.' But it is hard to believe that Grant's noble generosity was not inspired by those yet more noble words with which, just a month before, Lincoln had closed his second inaugural address: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.'

VI

'Fools,' wrote Bismarck, 'say they learn from their own experience. I have always contrived to get my experience at the expense of others.' We might have learned from the experience of Germany how to create a system for the conduct of war. We did not do so, because we did not fully understand what that experience was. We were disposed to think that Germany's striking military success in 1866 and 1870 was due entirely to her methods of training soldiers and the organization of her General Staff. When, toward the end of his life, von Moltke said that, in whatever direction other nations might develop their strength, Germany would remain superior in the command, most of us thought that he was referring to

the German General Staff system. We were, I think, wrong in this. Von Moltke meant that Germany had thought out a system for the conduct of war and the other nations had not. When mobilization was ordered the old King William, Bismarck, and von Roon knew their duties and places as thoroughly as did the humblest reservist tramping to his place of muster. This was not because they wore the *Pickelhaube* instead of the top hat, but because they had thought about the matter.

We know now that there was a defect in von Moltke's system. It did not provide for the fact which von Moltke had not foreseen: that in the modern nation in arms the military part in the combined effort is but twenty-five per cent of the whole. So that when the system was directed by second-rate men in 1914 the immediate military advantage to be gained by violating the frontier of Belgium was seized and the consequences of tearing up a treaty in the eyes of the world were overlooked. There was at no time much fear that we should give the military element in any system for the conduct of the war excessive prominence, and we might, had we been ready to learn from the experiences of others, have taken the good in von Moltke's plans and adapted them to our use. That good was the outcome neither of militarism nor of Prussianism, but of thought and common sense.

Were we shy of turning to Prussia for lessons in political science, we might have learned from the experience of Abraham Lincoln, who, when he visited the armies of the Union, did wear a top hat. We had gone into the war against Russia in 1854 with a system which invited defeat. 'The expedient,' says Kinglake, 'of dividing the control of our army between the Sovereign and the Sovereign's Government

continued to work its effects upon our military administration throughout the time of the Regency, throughout the two reigns that followed; and even after that time, during many a year, there was no removal of the constitutional deformity, no abatement of the evil it caused.

'A due sense of justice, however, commands us to remember and own that before our quarrel with Russia, and indeed until several years afterward, the idea of constituting a War Department upon sound principles had not passed through that long ordeal of discussion which is commonly required in England for the ripening of great public questions.'

The 'long ordeal of discussion' lasted more than fifty years. It left us eventually with a reorganized War Department and General Staff, but we had not, in August 1914, reached the position at which Lincoln had arrived in March 1864. We had not got so far even as considering the organization of the great General Headquarters of the Empire, the establishment of a system for the conduct of war.

One of the reasons why we did not learn what to my thinking is the chief lesson of the American Civil War is that this subject has been curiously neglected by British students of war. Hamley does not mention it. Henderson, who more than any other has moulded modern British military opinion, in his *Life of Stonewall Jackson* is concerned with the least fortunate period of Lincoln's war administration. He devotes a good many pages to the evils of civilian control and makes but a brief reference to Lincoln's abdication of his military functions in Grant's favor. The consequence of this is that it has been a common practice for British writers on military matters to fulminate against political interference in strategy, and it has not been difficult

for them to find numerous instances, both in the history of the American Civil War and in the history of other wars, in which political interference has been utterly mischievous. These fulminations leave the statesman cold because he is aware that there must be civilian control of strategy, and he is therefore apt to ascribe them either to military ignorance of political science or to the soldier's lust of power.

I think it is true to say that the general impression in the minds of students of the American Civil War is that Lincoln, great as he was, failed as a war minister save when he handed over the entire direction of military affairs to Grant. I have endeavored to show that this is not a correct judgment. The fathers of the study of strategy, Jomini and Clausewitz, both recognized that political control is not merely unavoidable but essential. Clausewitz, who wrote the military gospel of the most militaristic of modern Powers, said:—

'None of the main plans which are necessary for a war can be made without insight into the political relations, and people say something quite different from what they mean when they talk of the harmful influence of policy on the conduct of war. It is not the influence but the policy which they should blame. If the policy is sound — that is, if it hits the mark — it can affect the war only in its own sense and only advantageously; and when this influence diverts the war from its purpose the source must be sought in a mistaken policy.'

We can, I think, carry Clausewitz's conclusion a stage further and say, from the experiences of the American Civil War and of the Great War, that it is necessary both that policy and strategy should be sound and that statesman and soldier should mutually understand each other's functions and needs.

Jefferson Davis had no clear policy, and a brilliant soldier could not win victory without that aid which policy should have given. The Confederate President cannot, as I have tried to show, fairly be charged with undue interference with the operations of his generals in the field; the charge, rather, should be that he did not interfere enough and in the right way. Abraham Lincoln had a very definite and an entirely sound policy from the beginning of the war, but he did not know how to translate that policy into instructions to McClellan, and McClellan did not know what advice to give his political chief, nor indeed was he aware that it was his duty to advise him at all.

The Clausewitzian method of the abstract study of these problems is not one which is calculated to rouse much interest, save in a few professional students, and that does not suffice. If we are to deal effectively with that great evil, war, when it comes, then the methods of dealing with it must be understood by all men and women of intelligence who have the interests of their country at heart. If we leave the organization of government in time of war to be evolved by experience, then we shall, history tells us, have to buy that experience at a terrible price.

I have great hopes that the authority and influence of the League of Nations will eventually be such as to make war on a great scale impossible. But no one can say that this is so yet. Even the Covenant of the League envisages the possibility of war, and while war is a possibility it behooves the many among us who have had experience of war to ponder these things, and to leave to our descendants a better system of conducting war than we enjoyed.

There is another reason for seeking to create some greater interest than is at present taken in this all-important matter of relations between soldiers and

statesmen. Public opinion has become an element of the first importance in the conduct of war. I am among those who believe that in future wars the prime object of the contending nations will be the destruction, not of the opposing forces, but of what the Germans call the 'will to victory' of the opposing peoples. The immense extent of the increase of the zone of danger due to the introduction of aircraft has, it is generally admitted, brought the civil population into a jeopardy almost, if not quite, as great as that which confronts those who bear arms. The moral of the nation is therefore likely to be as important a factor in war as the moral of armies has always been. The defeat of the enemy's main forces, hitherto held to be the first aim of strategy, becomes only a means to an end, which may even be obtained without that means. For a people may find the continuance of war to be intolerable. The statesman who can hold a nation to its purpose, as Lincoln did in July and August 1864, is to-day as necessary as was and is the general who can rally the drooping energies and spirits of a weary army for a further effort. In a long and fiercely contested war there comes a time when exhausted human nature craves for any alternative to conditions which seem beyond endurance. Then the most gallant spirits lose confidence, the less brave become craven; and it is then that 'the spark in the breast of the commander must rekindle hope in the hearts of his men, and so long as he is equal to his task he remains their commander. When his influence ceases and his own spirit is no longer strong enough to revive the spirit of others, the masses, drawing him with them, sink into the lower region of animal nature which recoils from danger and knows not shame. Such are the obstacles which the brain and

courage of the military commander must overcome if he is to make his name illustrious.'

The qualities which Clausewitz required of his general at the beginning of the nineteenth century are to-day also required of the statesman — leader of the nation in arms. But if statesman and soldier are to accomplish their hard tasks they must be protected against the pressure and abuse of the ignorant. The mischief which an ill-informed public opinion could do in wars of the past, in which it was subjected to no such strain as it may have to endure in wars of the future, is clear to anyone who cares to read the history of war. Clamor in the press for the removal of this statesman or that soldier may, if it is made without knowledge of what the conduct of war is and requires, cause the downfall of a Lincoln, a Lee, or a Grant.

As long as war is a possibility, we need, as a beginning of preparation, a system of government in time of war that is known and understood by statesmen, soldiers, and people, or at least by those who guide public opinion, and in which the precise functions of ministers and military chiefs are clearly defined. One of the reasons why almost every war upon which we have entered for the last hundred and fifty

years has begun disastrously for us is that we have never understood the difference between government in peace and in war. We have tried slowly and painfully to adapt the peace machinery during the struggle to purposes for which it was never intended. War may be likened to epidemic disease. The first object is to prevent the occurrence of the evil. That is the task of one kind of expert, who discovers the cause of the disease, isolates the germ, and prepares the antitoxin. If the evil comes, specialist and general practitioner work together, each in his own rôle, to drive off the disease with the least possible loss of life, but the task of both is rendered tenfold more difficult if they are dealing with an ignorant people, who know not the virtues of cleanliness and sanitation, who mistrust and resist their efforts to heal. So it is with war. The first task of the statesman is to prevent it by discovering and removing its causes. In that task he needs the intelligent coöperation of the people. If war comes, he calls on the soldier practitioner, but again the coöperation of the people is required. The three — statesman, soldier, and people — can only work together in harmony when the duties and functions of each are understood by all.





When LINCOLN "Coached" GRANT



BEHIND one of the most dramatic and important moments in the annals of the American people, in which Abraham Lincoln and General Grant were the chief actors, there is an appealing human story that to this day remains virtually unknown. It is revealed in obscure and priceless original documents, says a writer in the Washington Post.

The event to which the yellowing manuscripts relate is the appointment of Grant as lieutenant general in command of all the Union forces in the Civil war, an epochal step taken by President Lincoln more than 70 years ago.

Lincoln had watched with increasing satisfaction the military record of the stocky and tacturn Grant. With the victories at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, the President reached the decision to place him in command of all the Union armies. To this resolve Lincoln held despite extreme pressure from numerous disaffected elements.

Grant was called to the White House and told of the President's intention. Lincoln called Grant aside and told him he understood the general's "dread of public speaking," and in order to make things a bit easier on that score, he, the President, had written out "the few lines" he intended to say to Grant on the occasion of the formal delivery of the appointment.

With characteristic breadth of vision, Lincoln urged Grant to say something in reply which not only "would be an encouragement to the North," but which also "would soothe the feelings of jealousy among other officers of the army."

Thereupon, Lincoln handed over to Grant the firmly inscribed manuscript of the remarks he had prepared.

In the following words, President Lincoln turned the course of history:



Gen. Grant:

The Nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission constituting you lieutenant general in the Army of the United States.

With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the Nation goes my own hearty concurrence.

Prepared as he had been by an "advance" of President Lincoln's remarks, General Grant replied:

Mr. President:

I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my ear-

nest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me, and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and man.

The manuscript of Lincoln's words is clear and the ink as strong and black as though written yesterday; that of the Grant acceptance is quite faded, barely legible.

This, incidentally, is among the relatively few pieces of Grantiana and Lincolniana still kept in the Grant family here.

It is not unlikely that eventually these priceless relics of a great event also will find their way into the archives of the federal government which was held intact by the statesmanship of Lincoln and the military genius of Grant.

Lincoln had to bear the brunt of heavy criticism in his appointment



of Grant to succeed George Washington and Winfield Scott as the only lieutenant generals of the United States Army up to that time. Criticism came not only from officers of the army, as Lincoln noted, when he reminded Grant to say something to "soothe the feelings of jealousy." It came from many quarters.

It came from men who pointed to Grant's lack of outstanding success at West Point, to his resignation from the army and return to private life in 1854, to his financial difficulties as farmer, storekeeper, and real estate salesman. And it came from others who struck holier-than-thou attitudes.

But Lincoln was not interested in Grant's past nor in his personal habits. As the Chief Executive, Lin-

coln was interested in just one thing—the winning of the war to preserve the federal union. Lincoln had tried many leaders to gain that end—beginning with McClellan and running the gamut of the Burnssides and the Hookers and others almost too numerous to mention.

Grant gave the dispirited North its first thrill when he captured Fort Donelson, and when his answer to the Confederate General Buckner became public, he was known to every urchin as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. He wrote to Buckner:

"No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

Grant's successes in the West were in striking contrast to the decidedly poor showing made by the commanders in the East. Lincoln watched Grant all through the years of 1862 and 1863. Knowing full well the criticism which would be leveled at him, within the army and out, despite the remarkable record achieved by Grant, Lincoln nevertheless made his decision and went through with it.

So it was that the man who had acknowledged himself to be a failure before 1861, received the highest military command within the power of the nation to bestow. He received it at the hands of an unerring judge of human kind who felt he finally had found the leader he had been seeking for three long and bitter years.

And Grant had answered, "It will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations."

FREE ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES AT KELVYN AND SCHURZ DISTRICTS

Now that the cold snap is over, classes in Adult Education are taking a fresh start. If you have a few hours to spare each week, why not join a class in any of the following subjects: Art, Citizenship, English, French, Interior decorating, Music, Psychology, Sewing, Shorthand, Typing, etc. Mr. Clifford B. Newton is starting a new class in Public Speaking at Kosciuszko Park Field House on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 10 A.M. to 12 A.M. The first class meets February 4.

Go to your nearest library and see the schedule for all classes in the Kelvyn Park and Schurz districts. Probably there is a class you want within walking distance of your home. Classes are free and anyone is privileged to enroll at any time.

*Chicago Logan Square
Herald*

216136

Lincoln and Grant

The following letter was found years afterward in the archives of the War Department by General Adam Badeau. It had not been answered:

Galena, Ill., May 24, 1861.

Col. L. Thomas,
Adjt. General, U. S. A.,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: Having served for fifteen years in the regular army, including four years at West Point, and feeling it the duty of every one who has been educated at the government's expense to offer their services for the support of that government, I have the honor very respectfully to tender my services, until the close of the

war, in such capacity as may be offered. I would say that in view of my present age, and length of service, I feel myself competent to command a regiment if the President, in his judgment should see fit to entrust one to me.

Since the first call of the President I have been serving on the staff of the governor of this state, rendering such aid as I could in the organization of our state militia, and am still engaged in that capacity. A letter addressed to me at Springfield, Ill., will reach me.

I am very respectfully,

Your obt. Svt.,

U. S. GRANT.

Week by Week

7/19/36

LINCOLN LORE

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Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 540

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

August 14, 1939

CONFERENCES OF LINCOLN AND GRANT

The names of Lincoln and Grant are inseparable in American history, yet strange to say, although they were contemporaries engaged in the same gigantic enterprise of saving the Union, they were associated with each other on but few occasions and were personally acquainted only thirteen months.

In February 1862, Lincoln wrote to Halleck about the possibility of Grant's being overwhelmed by the enemy and, in April, wrote again to Halleck asking if any "neglect or misconduct of General Grant" contributed to recent reverses of the Union troops. It was not until after the battle of Vicksburg in July 1863, that the President had occasion to write a personal letter directly to General Grant. He said in part:

"My Dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country . . . When you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong."

In another letter of appreciation written to Grant on December 8 Lincoln said:

"I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude, for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all!"

Lincoln Meets Grant

Abraham Lincoln first met General Grant at a White House reception on the evening of March 8, 1864. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln received in the Blue Room during the earlier part of the evening, and Mr. Lincoln was still greeting guests when about 9:30 a slight commotion at the entrance of the room indicated the arrival of some distinguished person. It proved to be General Grant.

The General had just come from the Army, and, although he had been in the Capitol city but once before, his first inclination was to pay his respects to the President. He was recognized immediately upon arrival at the executive mansion.

Mr. Lincoln's excessive height allowed him at all times to observe what was going on about him, and he recognized the General at once from his widely published photograph.

An eye-witness describes the meeting of these illustrious men:

"With a face radiant with delight the President advanced rapidly towards his distinguished visitor and cried out: 'Why here is General Grant! Well this is a great pleasure I assure you', and at the same time seizing him by the hand and shaking it for several minutes with a vigor which showed the extreme cordiality of the meeting."

That evening the President made an appointment with Grant for the formal presentation of the commission of Lieutenant-General which was to be tendered him upon the following day at one o'clock.

Mr. Lincoln said, "General Grant, the Nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do in the existing great struggle, are now presented, with this commission constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you, also, a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

General Grant replied, "Mr. President, I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me; and I

know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

Grant had arrived in Washington on March 8, the commission was presented on the 9th. He was with General Meade at Brandy Station on the 10th, returned to Washington on the 11th and that very evening started for the west.

Casual Interviews

With the exception of two or three hurried conferences, Lincoln saw little of Grant until the closing days of the war. Lincoln did take occasion to write a letter of encouragement to Grant on April 30, and it has become one of the most famous pieces of war correspondence. It follows:

"Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."

City Point Conference

Robert Lincoln, oldest son of the President, early in 1865 became a member of Grant's staff with the rank of captain.

On March 20, General Grant invited Lincoln to visit City Point, and Lincoln immediately accepted the invitation. On March 23 he telegraphed Grant:

"We start to you at one p.m. today. May lie over during the dark hours of the night. Very small party of us."

About nine o'clock in the evening of the following day, the President and his group arrived at City Point on the "River Queen", which boat was used as their headquarters. Lincoln not only had an opportunity on this visit to see much of General Grant but on the 28th there occurred the famous conference on the "River Queen" in which President Lincoln, Generals Grant and Sherman and Admiral Porter participated.

The following day Grant started on his final drive to Appomattox. Five days later Petersburg, nine miles from City Point, was evacuated and Grant sent a telegram to Lincoln who was still at City Point, inviting him to visit the victorious troops. Lincoln again was in conference with Grant at Petersburg. The fall of Richmond was announced when Lincoln returned from Petersburg to City Point and he immediately started for that city. The President was back in Washington again on Sunday evening, April 9.

It might be said that Lincoln was an eye-witness to the closing scenes of the conflict in which Grant played such an important part. He had been at the front with the soldiers for sixteen days.

The Last Meeting

Grant arrived in Washington on the morning of April 13 for what proved to be his last visit with the President. The general attended cabinet meeting on the morning of April 14, and this meeting was followed by several conferences. General and Mrs. Grant had been invited by President and Mrs. Lincoln to attend a theater performance at Ford's Theater that night, but other plans interfered and they left the city at 6:00 p.m. for Burlington.

It is difficult to anticipate what might have happened if Grant had suffered the same fate as Lincoln in the Ford's Theater box that evening. Grant as a martyr might have been a greater menace to the South in the reconstruction program which followed than he was as the head of the Union Army during the civil strife.

From the Mail Bag

Lincoln or Grant?

Editor, The State Journal: Will you allow me to call attention to a statement which Warren H. Atherton, commander of the American Legion, made in a speech at a Lincoln Day celebration Saturday.

The Chicago Sun of Feb. 13, 1944, has this statement:

"Standing in full uniform, amid massed colors, the Legion's commander demanded, as Lincoln himself had demanded, the unconditional surrender of the nation's enemies."

I am sure it was Gen. Grant, who made that demand, and think he did this entirely on his own initiative; but I am not enough of a student of the history of Lincoln to be sure. Will someone who does know, give us the facts. To me it is a matter of patriotism not to falsify history, even if it is done unintentionally.—**A Lover of Truth.**

State Journal
2-21-44

U. S. GRANT, 3RD
1135 - 21ST STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

17 May 1964.

The Editor of
"Lincoln Lore"

Dear Sir:

I am grateful for
the copies of "Lincoln Lore"
sent to me. It has oc-
curred to me that the
accompanying brief
outline of Mr. Lincoln's
and my Grandfather's
official friendship,
which became very per-

2

towards the end of the
Civil War, might be
of interest.

Sincerely,

G. A. Hant 22

May 19, 1964

Maj. Gen. U.S. Grant 36d (Ret.)
College Hill
Clinton, New York

Dear General Grant:

I was pleased to have your note of May 17th and to learn that you enjoyed the recent issue of Lincoln Lore. I presume you have reference to the March, 1964 issue entitled "Lincoln Named Grant Lieutenant General".

I had a lot of fun in compiling the information for this particular number.

I am delighted to have the paper which you send me entitled "Lincoln and Grant - A Unique Friendship". I have read this with a great deal of interest and your paper will be filed for future reference.

I recall several different occasions when it was my pleasure to visit with you. And, of course, I am always delighted to hear from you.

With the very best wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

R. Gerald McMurtry

RGM/hcs

Clinton, New York
31 March 1963

LINCOLN AND GRANT - A UNIQUE FRIENDSHIP

By General U. S. Grant 3rd

Fort Sumter was attacked April 12, 1861, and surrendered with the honors of war on the 14th, but the people of the North were suddenly made aware of the serious threat to the Union and responded with enthusiasm to President Lincoln's call to arms. On the other hand Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia joined the Confederacy. The line-up for the great Civil War to come was defined. But, while there were a number of minor military "engagements" before July, no definite or decisive success was achieved by either side. The nearest approach to such a success was McClellan's campaign in western Virginia in June, which freed the generally loyal counties in that part of the State from Secession domination and caused him later to be called to Washington to command the Army of the Potomac, after its defeat in the first Battle of Bull Run, July 21st.

This Union defeat cast a gloom over the North. It is interesting that Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, the founder of the methods of instruction at the U. S. Military Academy and then in retirement said to his nephew, Jonathan B. Moulton, in regard to the popular cry "on to Richmond": "Whoever makes the first aggressive move will be beaten. The greater the numbers, the more certain their defeat. Let one division be driven to rout and the whole pack will run like children from an apple orchard when set upon by dogs ..." And thus it was at Bull Run. Fortunately the victorious Confederates were themselves so confused and disorganized that they did not pursue. Even so, the moral effect on the people of the North was serious, and correspondingly encouraging to the Confederacy.

The President's recommendation of the Colonel of the 21st Illinois Volunteers among others to be promoted to the grade of Brigadier General (July 30, 1861) was doubtless a routine compliance with the recommendation of the Illinois delegation in Congress. However, while Fremont had General Grant chasing around from place to place in Missouri, and obtaining equipment for his men and transportation and giving them the rudiments of military training, he found time to study the geography of the Western Theater of the War and saw the importance of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers as offering a favorable line for invasion of the Confederacy. As soon as he had taken command of the District of southeastern Missouri and learned that the Confederates had violated the claimed neutrality of Kentucky, he seized Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee River and soon thereafter sent troops to occupy Smithland at the mouth of the Cumberland River. November 6th he took what troops were left at Cairo and the necessary river boats to within 6 miles of Columbus, the Confederate fortification on the left bank of the Mississippi, to prevent enemy interference with some expeditions into Missouri and to break up the Confederate force assembling at Belmont. General Grant landed his force of some 3,000 men and two guns, attacked and captured the rebel camp and fortified lines on that side of the river, but was forced to retire to his boats by a superior force from Columbus, having accomplished his objective to his own satisfaction. Of special military interest is the statement to his father in a letter the next morning that he had deployed his entire force as skirmishers for the attack on the rebel fortified camp. This open order formation for attack (the only time he was in direct tactical command of his troops) was an innovation when McClellan was training the Army of the Potomac to attack in close order.

By January 6, 1862, he felt strong enough to take an amphibious expedition up the Tennessee River to capture Forts Henry and Heintzelman and then march overland to capture Fort Donelson and break the center of the rebel line of defense. Refused at first by Halleck, on February 1st he was granted permission to proceed with the capture of Fort Henry. Because of high water the fort was barely accessible on land, but the attack by the fleet was crowned with success on February 6th and Fort Henry surrendered without being invested. Much of its garrison had evacuated the fort. A round of telegrams and letters between Halleck, McClellan, Buell and Cullum, whom Halleck had sent to Cairo to coordinate and hasten sending reinforcements to General Grant, consumed time, but he finally got his land force off overland towards Fort Donelson on February 12th, while the fleet which had moved up the river and destroyed the Memphis & Ohio Railroad bridge and had in part returned to Cairo for repairs, reached the neighborhood of Fort Donelson the same day as the expedition across the neck of land between the two rivers. By the 13th the investment of the Fort on the land side was achieved without opposition. On the 14th the fleet made an attack on the water batteries, but topographical conditions were far different from those at Fort Henry and the fleet suffered much damage, some of the boats drifting downstream out of control. Flag Officer Foote's flag ship was hit about sixty times, and one shot which entered the pilot house killed the pilot, carried off the steering wheel and wounded Foote himself.

On the 15th a messenger from Flag Officer Foote said the latter had been too seriously injured to come to headquarters and would the Commanding General come to see him. Travel on horseback was slow due to the freezing of the water on the road during the cold night of February 15/16. It was manifest that Foote would have to return to Mound City for the repair of his injured boats, which he estimated would take ten days. On his return to the river bank General Grant was met by Captain Hillyer of his staff with news that the enemy had made a determined sortie attacking our extreme right and driving McClernand back from the Dover road. General Lew Wallace had sent Thayer's brigade to help McClernand, the latter's troops having exhausted their ammunition (although there was a supply of ammunition in boxes on the ground nearby) and had fallen back out of range. Thayer's counterattack, however, drove the enemy back to his entrenchments. When it was found that the enemy's haversacks were filled with rations, General Grant loudly told Colonel Webster that the rebels were trying to escape and had him spread the news and order the men to fill their cartridge boxes and get into line quickly so the enemy could not get away. He then went to General C. F. Smith on the left of our line and ordered him to attack the works in front of him with his entire division, as the rebel right must be but thinly held, all possible men having probably been taken for the sortie on his left. Smith's attack was successful in entering the enemy's works on enemy's right.

It is unnecessary to take time now to recount the correspondence the next day with General Buckner after his two seniors in command had fled during the night - every one knows of it. The garrison surrendered, with all its arms, equipment and supplies - the center of the Confederate defence had been broken, Columbus on the Mississippi, Bowling Green and Nashville were evacuated, Albert Sidney Johnston retired out of reach of the slow moving and timid Buell. General Jordan in his Life of Forrest wrote: "As it was, Grant landing with the petty force of 15,000 men in the very center of a force of nearly 45,000, having interior lines for concentration and communication, by railway at that, was able to take two heavy fortifications in detail, and place hors de combat nearly 15,000 of his enemies." And Professor Fiebeger in his Campaigns of the American Civil War said: "The capture of Fort Donelson by raw troops in midwinter was one of the most remarkable events of

the war and reflected great credit on Grant, to whose energy it was due. His promptness in closing the gap made by Pillow's attack sealed the fate of the Confederate garrison."

But what is more important to our subject was President Lincoln's statement to General Thayer a little over a year later: "What I want is generals who will fight battles and win victories. Grant has done this and I propose to stand by him ... Somehow I have felt a leaning towards Grant. Ever since he sent that message to Buckner, 'No terms but unconditional surrender,' I have felt that he was the man I could tie to, though I have never seen him."

However General Halleck, the Department Commander whose part in the victory had been limited to a somewhat grudging permission for the capture of Fort Henry and the sending of reinforcements, was momentarily annoyed by failure to receive the reports of strength and the situation which he needed to reply to inquiries from McClellan in Washington, - reports which had been intercepted by an operator with rebel sympathies at the end of the field telegraph line (who afterwards escaped with his messages), and temporarily relieved his victorious subordinate of command. General Smith was accordingly succeeded to command of the army and led those that could be spared from the small garrisons left at Forts Donelson and Henry to Savannah, Tennessee. As they arrived some units were moved to Pittsburg Landing. It is not pertinent to my subject to go into General Halleck's reasons for this strange relief of General Grant, as the President does not seem to have heard of it. He had however, in recognition of the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, signed the nomination of General Grant to be Major General of Volunteers on February 17th. Moreover, he was deeply preoccupied with his sorrow at the death of his son, Willie Lincoln, was trying to push McClellan into action with the Army of the Potomac, and concerned with the goings on of the Merrimac and Monitor. Poor President, it is a wonder he found time to reward his successful general.

In the meantime, the reasons for Halleck's fault finding having been satisfactorily explained, General Grant was restored to his command March 13th and proceeded to Savannah, where he remained at night awaiting the arrival of Buell's army, but placing the troops as they arrived on the general line of Pittsburg Landing-Shiloh Church in the daytime. He was intent on attacking the enemy, who were being concentrated at Corinth by Albert Sidney Johnston, in the hope of defeating General Grant's army and then turning against Buell and beating him before he had joined the former. Halleck directed General Grant not to bring on any general engagement, probably intending to take over command himself in any drive on Johnston. Buell with his leading troops did arrive at Savannah on April 5th, but failed to report his arrival to General Grant that day.

So, when General Grant at breakfast on the 6th heard firing in the direction of Pittsburg Landing, he hastened by boat to the latter place, stopping only to send orders to General Nelson, commanding the leading division of Buell's command, to march up the east bank of the Tennessee River to opposite Pittsburg Landing and be ferried across, and at Crump's Landing to direct Lew Wallace there to be ready to move when directed. As there had been local engagements with reconnaissance parties and pickets of the enemy, the one in greatest force having been directed against Crump's Landing, the Union Commander wanted to assure himself that the main attack was really being made at Shiloh-Pittsburg Landing and there was no danger of a flank attack on the Corinth-Crump's Landing road; but as soon as he reached the field of battle and estimated the situation, he told General Rawlins to send orders to Lew Wallace to join the army by the river road. It is perhaps of interest that

this was about the only order for military operations during the war that General Grant did not write out himself or give directly verbally to the officer intended to carry it out; there was a misunderstanding of it by Lew Wallace and he did not arrive on the battle field until nightfall. Similarly, Nelson delayed until afternoon to get Buell's approval of the order he had received, and so did not join at Pittsburg Landing until the fighting was over for the day. Thus the reenforcements ordered were not available on the 6th.

The battle that day fought mostly with practically raw troops on both sides was the bloodiest of the war in the West. The Union line was driven back, but never broken, and ended the day on a new line with the last rebel charge repulsed by a concentration of artillery near Pittsburg Landing and driven back by a counter-charge. The next day, April 7th, the Confederate Army was attacked and decisively defeated, so much so that about a month later it evacuated without offering any opposition the important railroad center of Corinth which had been well fortified because of its strategic importance to the Confederacy. Among others on the Union side General W. H. L. Wallace, commanding a division, had been killed; and of the Confederates General Albert Sidney Johnston and Mrs. Lincoln's half brother, Samuel B. Todd. After putting up a masterly defense at the "hornets' nest" General Prentiss found his division almost surrounded by the withdrawal of the divisions on both sides of him and surrendered the entire division that was left at 5:30 P.M.

Newspaper reports after the battle gave various imaginary accounts of it, some claiming the Army of the Tennessee had been defeated the first day and was saved by the Army of the Cumberland. In the arguments that followed it was even said that General Grant had been under the influence of liquor. The newspaper reporters, especially White Law Reed, whose report in the press was one of the first out, had seen only the stragglers gathered at Pittsburg Landing and judged of the conditions at the front with a rather free use of their imaginations; so that General Sherman afterwards spoke of the Battle of Shiloh as the most persistently misunderstood battle of the Civil War. I have a letter of his to my Grandfather telling him that his description of the battle that appeared in the Century Magazine in 1884 was correct in every detail.

Naturally these allegations and accusations were gratifying to General Grant's enemies, to the leaders of the Army of the Cumberland and the writers of Confederate history. Evidently Mr. Lincoln judged the situation justly and saw it only as another victory won. It is hardly necessary before this audience to take up the various accusations seriatim, it seems sufficient to say that, when Mr. A. K. McClure told the President that he "shared the almost universal conviction of the President's friends that he could not sustain himself if he attempted to sustain Grant by continuing him in command," The President concluded the long and searching interview with "I can't spare this man; he fights."

After the capture of Island No. 10 and Corinth, followed by the Union occupation of Memphis, the Mississippi River was in Union control except for Vicksburg and Port Hudson. The capture of Vicksburg was therefore a "strategic must" and General Grant appreciated this fact. The overland approach to Vicksburg in late 1862 and early '63 had to be abandoned after his base of supplies at Holy Springs had been destroyed, December 20, 1862, by Van Dorn's raiding force, and Sherman's attack at Chickasaw Bayou December 27-29 had been repulsed. It was evident that the long supply line of nearly 200 miles to Jackson, Mississippi, could not be maintained in rebel territory with such raiders as Van Dorn and Forrest "on the loose," and General Grant's force had been sadly diminished to send reenforcements

to Buell and then Rosecrans in Kentucky and eastern Tennessee. He then determined to move his army down the Mississippi River to near Vicksburg and direct operations himself. Various attempts were made to reach the vicinity of the "Gibraltar of the South" through various Bayous, but these attempts proved unsuccessful, as he had rather expected they would, but the high water which flooded so much of the country around Vicksburg during the winter prevented each attempt from reaching a satisfactory conclusion and the army had to be kept busy and the country aware that something was being done; while the plan he had in the back of his mind could not be initiated until the high water subsided.

It was natural that the public was restless and the General's enemies did their best to have him relieved in disrepute. Again Mr. Lincoln was urged to relieve him and give the command to some one else, and again the old myth of drinking was revived. However, Mr. Lincoln was reassured by the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Charles A. Dana, who joined the Headquarters on April 9, 1863, and stayed on through the Vicksburg campaign, and more definitely by General John M. Thayer, just fresh from Vicksburg, of whom he asked if he had a man named Grant there and "what kind of a fellow is he?" To which Thayer replied: "Yes, Sir, we have" and then assured him he was an excellent and popular commander with the army and had a stubborn determination to win under all circumstances. Mr. Lincoln then asked, "does Grant ever get drunk?" To which Thayer replied, "No, Mr. President, Grant does not get drunk." The President persisted: "Is he in the habit of using liquor?" The reply was: "I have seen him often, sometimes daily, and I have never noticed the slightest indication of his using any kind of liquor. The charge is atrocious, wickedly false. I saw him repeatedly during the battles of Donelson and Shiloh on the field, and if there were any sober men on the field, Grant was one of them.... I am glad to bring this testimony to you in justice to a much maligned man."

Another eye-witness account confirms General Thayer, in a letter from Ashland, Pa., to the Philadelphia Press, evidently by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer: "During the first three years of the war I was actively identified with the Western branch of the Sanitary Commission, and had abundant opportunity of judging for myself in regard to the character and ability of many of our generals. During the entire campaign of the opening of the Mississippi it was my privilege to aid in caring for our noble patriots, both in hospitals and in camps, and I have been for weeks together where I saw General Grant frequently, heard his name constantly, and never did I hear intemperance mentioned in connection with it. Facts are stubborn things. I will relate a few that came directly to my knowledge: In the winter of 1862-63, when the army arrived at Memphis after long weary marching and trials that sicken the heart to think of, two-thirds of the officers and soldiers were in hospitals. General Grant was lying sick at the Gayoso House. One morning Mrs. Grant came into the ladies' parlor, very much depressed, and said the medical director had just been to see Mr. Grant, and thought he would not be able to go any further if he would not stimulate. Said she: 'and I cannot persuade him to do so; he says he will not die, and he will not touch a drop upon any consideration.' In less than a week he was on board the advance boat on the way to Vicksburg.

"Again a few weeks later I was on board the headquarters boat at Millikens Bend, where quite a lively gathering of officers and ladies had assembled. Cards and music were the order of the evening. General Grant sat in the ladies' cabin, leaning upon a table covered with innumerable maps and roads to Vicksburg, wholly absorbed in the great matter before him. He paid no attention whatever to what was going on around, neither did any one dare to interrupt him. For hours he sat thus

until the loved and lamented McPherson stepped up to him with a glass of liquor in his hand and said, 'General, this won't do; you are injuring yourself. Join with us in a few toasts, and throw this burden off your mind.' Looking up and smiling, he replied: 'Mac, you know your whiskey won't help me think; give me a dozen of the best cigars you can find, and if the ladies will excuse me for smoking, I think by the time I have finished them I shall have this job pretty nearly planned.' Thus he sat; and when the company retired, we left him there, still smoking and thinking, not having touched one drop of liquor.

"When the army lay around Vicksburg during that long siege, the time that tried men's souls, I watched every movement it was possible for me to do, feeling almost certain that he would eventually succumb to the custom, alas! too universal among the officers. - I was in company with a gentleman from Chicago, who, while calling upon the General, remarked, 'I have some very fine brandy on the boat, and if you will send an orderly with me to the river, I will send you a case or two.' 'I am greatly obliged,' replied the General, 'but I do not use the article. I have a big job on hand, and though I know I shall win, I know I must do it with a cool head. Send all the liquor you intend for me to my hospital in the rear. I don't think a little will hurt the poor fellows down there.'

"At a celebration on the 22nd of February, before the surrender of Vicksburg, while all around were drinking toasts in sparkling champagne, I saw General Grant push aside a glass of wine, and taking up a glass of Mississippi water, with the remark, 'this suits the matter in hand, drink to the toast "God gave us Lincoln and liberty, let us fight for both.'"

But the elections of 1862 had gone against the Administration, and Grant realized, as no one of his military assistants did, that he must take the risk of passing the fleet by the Vicksburg batteries and then, landing below the city, throw his army between Pemberton in Vicksburg and Joseph E. Johnston at Jackson, try to defeat each in detail, and then drive Pemberton into Vicksburg and besiege him there if necessary. The details of this wonderful campaign are outside of my subject, but Mr. Lincoln's letter of July 15, 1863 of congratulations on the capture of Vicksburg is pertinent: Beginning with "I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country - I wish to say a word further - When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg I thought you should do what you finally did - march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like would succeed - When you got below, and took Port-Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and help General Banks; and when you turned Northward East of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake - I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right, and I was wrong. -Yours very truly, A. Lincoln."

We must not overlook the importance of the capture of Vicksburg in the final outcome of the war. General J. F. C. Fuller, English progressive military authority and historian wrote: "The South had been cleft in twain. Vicksburg, not Gettysburg, was the crisis of the Confederacy." And Dana and Wilson said of the campaign preceding the siege: "Within 18 days, Grant had won five battles, taken 40 field guns, many colors and small arms, and nearly 5,000 prisoners; killed and wounded 5,200 of the enemy; separated their armies, in the aggregate nearly 60,000 strong; compelled the abandonment of the strong positions of Grand Gulf and Haines

Bluff, with their armament of 20 heavy guns; destroyed the railroads and bridges; and made the investment of Vicksburg complete. In doing this McPherson's and McClernand's corps had marched an average of 156 miles; while Sherman's had marched 175 miles. During this time the united strength of these three corps did not exceed 45,000 men. The limits of this work do not permit us to dwell upon the brilliancy of this campaign nor to descant upon the surpassing vigor and boldness of the generalship displayed by Grant in conducting it. There is nothing in history since Hannibal invaded Italy to compare with it."

When Rosecrans was badly defeated at Chickamauga September 19-20, 1863 and bottled up in Chattanooga, his army and animals starving, and he proposed to withdraw from this perilous position, it was natural that General Grant should be called upon to save the situation. After relieving Rosecrans and ordering his successor, General Thomas, to hold on, he reached Chattanooga October 23rd after riding horseback from the railhead at Bridgeport over the only trail still available to the Union Army. After some consultation with General Thomas and his staff, still dripping wet from the ride in the rain he was especially interested in a plan General W. F. Smith had devised for reopening the "cracker line" to Bridgeport and relieving the food and feed situation. Therefore the next day, although still suffering from injuries because of his horse shying and falling on him on his way back from a review near New Orleans a few weeks before, he went over the ground in person. Both Rosecrans and Thomas knew of the plan and had approved it, but neither of them had done anything definite to carry it out. Not so with Grant, who had the plan carried out successfully, and by the 28th the supply line for food and forage was open for the relief of the Army of the Cumberland. Meantime Hooker and Howard had joined with their commands on October 28th, and Sherman was on his way; but the men and teams of the army so lately besieged were not equal to an energetic attack on Bragg's positions. That had to wait until Sherman's arrival and all was in readiness for the Battle of Chattanooga November 23-25, 1863. A signal victory followed.

As expected President Lincoln decided to confer the newly created rank of Lieutenant General on General Grant and sent for him to come to Washington. There the two met for the first time, and General Grant was cordially greeted at the White House reception the evening of the 8th of March 1864 and placed in command of all the Union Armies with his commission as Lieutenant General. In his first interview with the President alone, the latter assured him that he had never professed to be a military man or to know how campaigns should be conducted, never wanted to interfere in them; but that procrastination on the part of military commanders and the pressure from the people of the North and Congress, which was always with him, forced him into issuing his series of "Military Orders." He did not know but what they were all wrong, he did know that some of them were wrong. All he had wanted or had ever wanted was some one who would take the responsibility and act, and call on him for the assistance needed, pledging himself to use all the power of the Government in rendering such assistance. General Grant assured him that he would do his best with the means at hand, and would as far as possible avoid annoying him or the War Department. - The President had found just the sort of general he had been looking for. My Father remembered Mr. Lincoln, with his special skill in illustrating a point by a pertinent parable, telling the following story that day of their interview: "Jocko was the commander of an army of monkeys in a monkey war, and he was always sure that, if his tail were a little longer he could end the monkey war. So he kept asking the authorities of the monkey republic for more of a tail. They got other monkey tails and spliced them on his. His spliced tail got too long to drag after him, and they wound it around his body. Still he wanted

more, and they wound his spliced tail around his shoulders. Finally it got so heavy that it broke his back. Mr. Lincoln applied the story to the cases of generals who were always calling for more men and never did anything with them. They talked about the campaign but, in a desultory way."

The new Commander-in-Chief certainly did not make unreasonable demands on the Administration and brought about coordinated action by the various armies and did not talk about his plans, but went about his business of winning the war. Too often the failure of subordinate commanders to achieve the missions assigned to them brought disappointments and failure to accomplish the mission they were expected to perform in the general plan; but, as you all know, the general result finally brought success and the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. It is not necessary to relate to this audience the details of that final nationwide campaign. However, it is pertinent to my subject to point to Mr. Lincoln's care to keep personally informed as to the progress of events without giving orders as to definite military moves. As General Sir Frederick Maurice wrote in the Atlantic Monthly of August 1926, "Soldier and statesman set about their business without interfering each with the other, and consequently the work of both prospered."

After the costly and undecisive attack at Cold Harbor, the President wrote his General: "I have just read your despatch. I begin to see it. You will succeed. God bless you all." After the failure to capture Lee's lines at Petersburg because of delays in taking advantage of the small garrison there before it could be reinforced, Mr. Lincoln telegraphed: "I have seen your dispatch expressing your unwillingness to break your hold where you are. Neither am I willing. Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible."

Early in April 1864 Lincoln said to one of his secretaries, who a score of years later wrote his biography (New York, 1884), in answer to an inquiry as to his opinion of Grant: "I hardly know what to think of him. He is the quietest fellow you ever saw. Why he makes the least fuss of any man I ever knew. I believe two or three times he has been in this room a minute or more before I knew he was here. The only evidence that he is in any place is that he makes things go. Wherever he is they move."

"How about Grant's generalship? Is he going to be the man?"

"Stoddard, Grant is the first one I've had. He is a general"

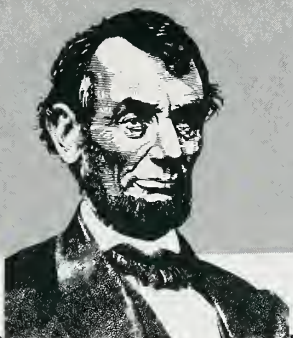
"How is that?" inquired the somewhat puzzled secretary.

"Well, I'll tell you what I mean," The President replied. "You know how it has been with all the rest. As soon as I put a man in command of the Army of the Potomac he would come to me with a plan of campaign, and about as much as say, 'Now, I don't believe I can do it, but if you say so I'll try it,' and so he would throw the responsibility of success or failure on me. They all wanted me to be the general. Now, it is not so with Grant. He has not told me what his plans are. I don't know, and I don't want to know. I am glad to find a man that can go ahead without me You see, whenever any of the others set out on a campaign they would look over matters, and pick out some one thing they were short of and knew I could not give them, and tell me they could not hope to win success unless they had that thing, and then when failure came they would lay the blame on that, and say 'I told you so,' and it was most generally cavalry." Here Mr. Lincoln paused for one of his long, quiet, peculiar laughs, and went on with -

"Now when Grant took hold I was waiting to see what his pet impossibility would be; and I reckoned it would be cavalry, as a matter of course, for we hadn't horses enough to mount even the men we had. There were 15,000 or thereabout near Harper's Ferry and no horses to put them on. Well, the other day Grant sent to me about those very men just as I expected; but what he wanted to know was whether he should make infantry of them or disband them. He did not ask me for what he knew I could not do. He does not ask impossibilities of me, and he is the first general I have had that did not.'....."

After Army Headquarters had been successfully moved to City Point south of the James River and for some months the Army of the Potomac was immobilized with siege operations, President Lincoln became a frequent visitor and seemed to like being there. The official friendship formed before 1864 during these visits became personal, almost affection. John Russell Young recalled how the General was grateful that so much of the President's last months and days had been spent with him, and spoke of him as "the greatest man I have ever known and the day of his death the darkest of my life." Years afterwards he regretted that he had not been able to go to the theater with the President that fatal evening of April 14, 1865, as he doubted that Booth could have entered the box undiscovered by him and events "might have reached other conclusions."

Certainly, Lincoln and Grant were the unbeatable team that saved the Union, working as they did with complete mutual understanding, each serving the country to the best of his ability; and so Providence blessed their efforts with success and assured our heritage.



Lincoln Lore

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Lincoln Named Grant Lieutenant General March 9, 1864

With the opening of the 1st session of the 38th Congress the Illinois Congressman, Elihu B. Washbourne, introduced and carried through the bill creating the office of Lieutenant General. While there was considerable debate on the bill, with a great many objections or amendments offered, it was generally understood that the hero of Vicksburg, General Ulysses S. Grant, would be given the commission.

The bill stated "That the President is hereby authorized, whenever he shall deem it expedient, to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a Lieut. General, to be selected from among those officers in the military service not below the grade of Major-General, most distinguished for courage, skill and ability, who, being commissioned as Lieut. General, shall be authorized, under the direction and during the pleasure of the

President, to command the armies of the United States." On February 29, (some authorities give the date of February 22) 1864 Lincoln approved the act, and sent the nomination of U. S. Grant as Lieutenant General to the Senate for confirmation. On March 3, the nomination was confirmed.

Grant was a comparatively young man to have attained this high honor, but he had distinguished himself by his invaluable services to his country. The sentiment of the entire country pointed to him as the man whom everyone wished to see honored with this signal mark of distinction. This commission was no empty honor for the 42 year old Grant. While it was true that Lieut. General Winfield Scott, then on the retired list, still retained his rank, he was a Lieutenant General only by brevet; whereas,

with the exception of George Washington, General Grant was the only man in the United States who had been honored with the full rank of Lieutenant General.

With the Senate's confirmation of Grant's appointment, his presence at the Capital was immediately requested by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Grant received this order while he was at Nashville, Tennessee. Stanton was the only member of Lincoln's Cabinet who had ever seen Grant. They met once in a Louisville, Kentucky railroad station. This would be Grant's first visit to Washington since the beginning of the war. He reached Washington about 5 P.M. on March 8. Due to the negligence of some official, there was no one at the railway station to meet him; nevertheless, with his two staff members he found his way to Willard's Hotel.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

"General Grant Receiving His Commission as Lieutenant-General From President Lincoln" as depicted in the March 20, 1864 edition of *Harper's Weekly*.

In Ben: Perley Poore's *Reminiscences* there is to be found a personal description of Grant at the time of his arrival in Washington:

"He wore a plain, undress uniform and a felt hat of the regulation pattern, the sides of the top crushed together. He generally stood or walked with his left hand in his trousers pocket, and had in his mouth an unlighted cigar, the end of which he chewed restlessly. His square-cut features, when at rest, appeared as if carved from mahogany, and his firmly set under-jaw indicating the unyielding tenacity of a bulldog, while the kind glances of his gray eyes showed that he possessed the softer traits. He always appeared intensely preoccupied, and would gaze at any one who approached him with an inquiring air, followed by a glance of recollection and a grave nod of recognition."

At 8 P.M. on March 8 President and Mrs. Lincoln began receiving guests at the White House. It had been announced that Grant would attend the reception. This news brought out a considerable crowd, even though the weather was bad. At 9:30 P.M. Grant and his staff members arrived at the executive mansion unaccompanied by any Government official. Grant's arrival created much excitement among the guests, and Lincoln moved with the crowd to meet the visitor. The President approached the general with the question: "This is General Grant, is it not?" Grant replied, "Yes." Thereupon, they greeted each other cordially.

It is commonly believed that this was the first meeting between the President and the General. However, according to Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher, in an address delivered at a banquet in Wyandotte, Kansas on June 20, 1887, Lincoln and Grant had met on August 27, 1858 on the occasion of Lincoln's second joint debate with Stephen A. Douglas.

The reminiscences of Usher were published in 1925 in a 34 page pamphlet (M. 2817) following his impromptu speech at Wyandotte, Kansas. Usher's account of the Freeport meeting follows:

"Mr. Lincoln directly said to General Grant (at the meeting of the Cabinet the next day), 'I have never met you before.' Grant replied, 'Yes you have; I heard you in your debate with Douglas at Freeport, and was there introduced to you. Of course, I could not forget you, neither could I expect you to remember me, because multitudes were introduced to you on that occasion.' Mr. Lincoln replied, 'That is so, and I do not think I could be expected to remember all.'"

On the other hand, in his "Personal Memoirs" Grant made no claim to ever having met Lincoln prior to March 8, 1864. Grant wrote: "Although hailing from Illinois myself, the State of the President, I never met Mr. Lincoln until called to the Capitol to receive my commission as lieutenant-general." Grant's "Memoirs" provide

us with no details of the events connected with his receiving the commission of lieutenant general. However, he did mention that "I knew him (Lincoln), however, very well and favorably from the accounts given by officers under me at the West who had known him all their lives. I had also read the remarkable series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas a few years before, when they were rival candidates for the United States Senate."

John G. Nicolay, the President's private secretary, wrote the most voluminous notes we have of Lincoln and Grant at the White House reception:

"... the two greeted each other more cordially, but still with that modest deference, felt rather than expressed in word or action, so appropriate to both—the one the honored ruler, the other the honored victor of the nation and the time.

"The crowd too partook of the feeling of the occasion. There was no rude jostling, or pushing, or pulling, but unrestrained the circle kept its respectful distance, until after a brief conversation the President gave the General in charge of Seward to present to Mrs. Lincoln, at the same time instructing me to send for the Secretary of War. After paying his respects to Mrs. Lincoln the General was taken by Seward to the East Room, where he was greeted with cheer after cheer by the assembled crowd, and where he was forced to mount a sofa from whence he could shake hands with those who pressed from all sides to see him. It was at least an hour before he returned, flushed, heated and perspiring with the unwonted exertion."

Newspaper accounts of the reception confirm Nicolay with the statement that the General was "literally lifted up," and that "Secretary Seward preceded him to his eminence on the sofa." After all present had greeted Grant there was a promenade of the receiving party through the East Room. The President walked with Seward and Mrs. Lincoln walked with the guest of honor. After the promenade they returned to their seats in the Blue Room.

Lincoln's private secretary has provided an intimate glimpse of the conversation that ensued between Lincoln and Grant:

"Tomorrow," said the President to the General, "at such time as you may arrange with the Sec. of War, I desire to make to you a formal presentation of your commission as Lieut. Genl. I shall then make a very short speech to you, to which I desire you to reply for an object; and that you may be properly prepared to do so I have written what I shall say—only four sentences in all—which I will read from my M.S. as an example which you may follow and also read your reply, as you are perhaps not as much accustomed to speaking as I, myself—and I therefore give you what I shall say that you may consider

it and form your reply. There are two points that I would like to have you make in your answer, 1st, to say something which shall prevent or obviate any jealousy of you from any of the other generals in the service, and 2d, something which shall put you on as good terms as possible with this Army of the Potomac. Now, consider whether this may not be said to make it of some advantage; and if you see any objection whatever to doing it, be under no restraint whatever in expressing that objection to the Secretary of War who will talk further with you about it."

Nicolay had further comments concerning the meeting of Lincoln and Grant: "The General asked at what time this presentation would take place." Lincoln replied, "The Secretary of War and yourself may arrange the time to suit your convenience. I will be ready, whenever you shall have prepared your reply." Grant replied, "I can be ready in thirty minutes."

The hour of presentation was fixed at 1 P.M. on March 9 in the Cabinet Chamber. The Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, wrote in his diary that "the Cabinet was all there, and General Grant and his staff with the Secretary of War and General Halleck entered." For some unknown reason William E. Barton in his work, "President Lincoln," in a footnote (vol. II, page 614) stated that "That entertaining gossip, Secretary Welles, was absent in New York on a confidential errand, and has left us no account of this incident, and the only member of the Cabinet who has given us the story of that event is Usher." This is an error because Welles attended the Cabinet meeting, and the reception the evening before. It was Edward Bates, Lincoln's Attorney-General, who apparently did not consider Grant's appointment significant enough to be recorded in his diary—and he made a long entry for March 9, 1864.

While Usher waited twenty-three years to record his reminiscences of the presentation of the commission to Grant, his account in part is worthy of consideration:

"When the President delivered the commission of Lieutenant General to General Grant, the members of the Cabinet were Mr. Seward, Secretary of State; Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Stanton (successor to Mr. Cameron), Secretary of War; Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Blair, Postmaster General; Mr. Bates, Attorney General; and myself, Secretary of the Interior.

"Mr. Lincoln thought it fit and proper to convene the Cabinet to witness the ceremony. (There is every reason to believe that Nicolay and Congressman Lovejoy (Ill.) were also present.) Upon my entering the room of the President all of the Cabinet were present with the exception of Mr. Stanton. Soon after I inquired of the President why we were summoned; he made no direct answer. Whether the other members present knew why they were called I do not know. The President seemed to be

in good spirits, which made me wonder the more why we were there; but I supposed in due time I would find out, and listened to the conversations going on. The President had not much order in the arrangement and keeping of his papers; his table was generally filled up with papers as long as they would lie on it. He did not seem to have any difficulty in finding any paper that he wanted amongst the huge mass thrown promiscuously there. Presently, Mr. Stanton, General Halleck and General Grant (accompanied by two members of his staff one of which was likely Gen. John A. Rawlins) entered the room. Without accosting the President or any one present, they moved rapidly to the far side of this table and stopped facing the table, with General Grant between General Halleck and Mr. Stanton. The President was on the opposite side. As they stopped and were in the position described, the President arose and took from the table a scroll tin case, opened it and took out the parchment commission. He then took from the pile of papers upon the table what soon proved to be his address to General Grant, the precise words of which I cannot remember, neither have I a copy."

While Secretary Usher attempted to reconstruct from memory Lincoln's presentation speech, it is hardly worthwhile to quote it as the original statement, owned by Ulysses S. Grant III, is extant:

"General Grant

"The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to do, in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also, a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

Taking up again Secretary Usher's reminiscences, that officer wrote that Grant then read his penciled reply:

"Then General Grant took from his vest pocket a paper containing the response to the President . . . I do remember that the paper upon which it was written was probably less than a quarter of a sheet; that he held the paper in his right hand and commenced reading it, and read probably half of it, when his voice gave out. Evidently he had not contemplated the effort of reading and had commenced without inflating his lungs. When General Grant commenced reading he was standing most awkwardly, what in common parlance would be called 'hip shot.' When his voice failed he straightened himself up in his fullest and best form, threw his shoulders back, took the paper in both hands, one at each end, and drew the paper up within proper reading distance and commenced again at the beginning and read it through

in a full strong voice. As he straightened himself up and took the paper in his hands it seemed to me that he was thinking to himself 'I can read this paper without faltering and I am going to do it.' and he did."

What Grant read follows:

"Mr. President:

"I accept this commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred.

"With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now developing on me and know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that providence which leads nations and men."

Thereupon Grant received from Lincoln the commission which was dated from March 2, 1864. With the conclusion of the ceremony the members of the Cabinet were introduced to the nation's highest ranking military officer.

Certainly, no one could find fault with Grant's response to Lincoln's presentation speech. However, Nicolay felt that in enunciating his reply his effort was "rather sorry and disjointed." The secretary stated that Grant "had either forgotten or disregarded entirely the President's hints

to him of the night previous." It is obvious that Grant was "quite embarrassed by the occasion." His mistake was in writing hurriedly his response in lead pencil on a half-sheet of note paper, in a fashion that was almost illegible.

Grant's first order after receiving his commission was dated March 10, 1864 when the Commander-in-Chief wrote him as follows:

"Under the authority of an Act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general of the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, U. S. Army, is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States."

Grant was now in a vulnerable position so far as Washington society was concerned. He was a fit subject to be lionized by every social-conscious Washington matron. Perhaps his social timidity kept him away from Grover's Theatre the evening of March 10, for the performance of Richard III, the last night in the series of Shakespearean dramas featuring Edwin Booth. President and Mrs. Lincoln attended, and Grant had ticket reservations.

Of course, Mrs. Lincoln had the first opportunity to launch Grant's social career. On March 10 Lincoln sent Grant the following telegram:

"Mrs. Lincoln invites yourself and Gen. Meade to dine with us Satur-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

"Grant Receiving His Commission as Lieutenant-General" as depicted in Ben: Perley Poore's book, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years In The National Metropolis*, Hubbard Brothers, Publishers, 1886.

day (March, 12) evening. Please notify him, and answer whether you can be with us at that time."

Grant replied to Lincoln's telegram at 7:45 P.M.: "Genl. Meade and myself accept your kind invitation to dine with Mrs. Lincoln on Saturday."

However, at a Cabinet meeting on March 11, General Grant revealed to the President his plans to leave immediately for Nashville. Isaac N. Arnold, in his biography of Lincoln, has provided the following conversation between the President and the Lieutenant General in regard to his unexpected early departure:

"The General said, 'Mrs. Lincoln must excuse me. I must be in Tennessee at a given time.' 'But we can't excuse you' said the President. 'Mrs. Lincoln's dinner without you, would be Hamlet with Hamlet left out.' 'I appreciate the honor Mrs. Lincoln would do me,' said the General, 'but time is very important now, and really—Mr. Lincoln, I have had enough of this show business.'"

A Washington dispatch of March 13 (New York Tribune, March 14, 1864) throws further light on Grant's departure:

"The sudden return of Lieut. Gen. Grant to the West prevented him from participating in the military dinner at the Executive Mansion last night. However, nearly all, if not the entire number of Major and Brigadier Generals now here, including Gens. Halleck, Meade, Sickles, and McCook, together with the Secretary of War, dined with the President . . ."

Other generals present at the dinner (not included in the above news dispatch) were Gens. Wood (ret'd.), Hunter and Doubleday. The complete guest list numbered about fifteen persons.

Apparently, Grant's absence at the dinner was a great disappointment to Mrs. Lincoln and the other guests, but the hero of Vicksburg had really had "enough of the show business."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Autographed Carte-de-Visite photograph of U. S. Grant.

LINCOLN IN BRADY'S STUDIO By C. C. Beall



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

"Lincoln in Brady's Studio" by C. C. Beall.

Nearly every year The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company commissions a well known commercial artist to paint a portrait of Abraham Lincoln. Some of these artists have been Crawford, Bracker, Calvillo, Carter, Cornwell, Leticke, Leyendecker, Mizen, Nuytens, Welsh and Riley. Last fall C. C. Beall was commissioned to do a painting depicting Mathew Brady taking a photograph of Abraham Lincoln, to be used in an institutional advertisement which appeared in the February 8, 1964 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The production of these paintings entails a considerable amount of historical research on the part of the artist. A careful study of the Beall portrait will reveal minute attention to minor details such as background, camera, table, hat and inkwell. Then, too, the portrait of Brady required as much skill to execute as that of Lincoln.

In the creation of the Lincoln portrait, Beall made a studied effort not to depict Lincoln in a classifiable pose such as might be enumerated by Frederick H. Meserve, Stefan Lorant or Hamilton and Ostendorf. In other words, the Lincoln portrait by Beall might be termed a composite of several different Brady poses.

The publication by the University of Oklahoma Press (1963) of "Lincoln in Photographs" by Charles Hamilton and Lloyd Ostendorf has revealed some interesting information about Brady's Lincoln photographs. Al-

though this noted photographer is generally credited with just about all of Lincoln's bearded photographs, Hamilton and Ostendorf have revealed that he actually made only eleven in his New York and Washington studios. Classification numbers are as follows:

Meserve	Ostendorf
20	17 (New York)
66	57 (Chicago)
65	58 (Chicago)
67	59 (Chicago)
64	60 (Chicago)
63	61 (Chicago)
73	83 (Chicago)
75	84 (Chicago)
78	85 (Chicago)
76	86 (Chicago)
77	87 (Chicago)

Brady had several assistants who posed Lincoln in his studio while he was following the battles of the Civil War. These men were Alexander Gardner, Anthony Berger and Thomas LeMere. The Brady studio can be credited with having produced something less than twenty photographs taken by the above mentioned assistants. However, these assistants posed Lincoln in numerous photographs outside the Brady studio. Perhaps others of some twenty-five Brady assistants were present and were helpful in the production of Lincoln photographs. However, in all fairness to Brady it is well to point out that his assistants (Gardner, Berger and LeMere) were as skillful as the master teacher in taking Lincoln's photograph.

Lincoln and Grant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 1, 1967

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a group gathered at the Grant Memorial in front of the Capitol to commemorate the 145th anniversary of the birth of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

Robert J. Havlik, president of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, delivered the main address.

I was impressed both with the content of the speech and the impressiveness of Mr. Havlik's presentation.

I also want to pay tribute to Mrs. Anna Hauseman, who presided ably and effectively, as well as to the number of patriotic citizens who attended in spite of the inclement weather.

LINCOLN AND GRANT

We have congregated here at the site of the Grant Memorial to commemorate the 145th anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant. As president of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, I have been asked to say a few words about the close bond between these two famous men.

Probably the best illustration of the respect these men had for each other is expressed in an exchange of letters between them a few days before General Grant began his great offensive against Lee.

President Lincoln wrote on April 30, 1864: "Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way, my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know, or seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster, or the capture of our men in great numbers, shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it."

"And now with a brave army, and a just cause, may God sustain you."

Grant replied: "Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future, and satisfaction with the past, in my military administration is acknowledged with pride. It will be my earnest endeavor that you and the country, shall not be disappointed."

"From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country, to the present day, I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint, against the administration, or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to me my duty. Indeed since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility, and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with

which everything asked for has been yielded without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire, and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you."

The lesson to be learned from the Lincoln-Grant relationship is the lesson of trust between persons who love America and who are concerned about what we do and what we are. Our problem today is not that we have no faith, but we seem reluctant to put our trust in one another. Lincoln had faith in the ultimate goal of Union and he put his trust in Grant.

In the same way Grant put his trust in Lincoln, who held in his hands the power to re-unite America.

May we learn as they learned that when one is willing to lead, and the other to show what is to be done, it is possible to know God's will and to be partners with Him in doing what is right.

Thank you.

Henry J. Taylor Says:

The Spirit Of Lincoln Is Still Strong Today

General-in-Chief of the Armies of the Confederate States Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox only five days before Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theater. The President whose birthday we celebrate was being hailed as the Great Emancipator and the forgiving conqueror.



Taylor

Yet, so controversial was Lincoln in Washington that at least 10 people who had been invited to accompany President and Mrs. Lincoln to the theater had refused.

Lincoln needed a victory in the 1864 election to avoid his own political disaster. He was regarded by most observers as beaten. Destiny's child had run out of a future, Sir Winston Churchill wrote of the contemporary critics of Lincoln: "These critics failed to see moral courage when it was staring them in the face."

Not always in the constant shifting of time's sieve does the dross of libel fall away, leaving the gold of truth revealed. But when this does happen the injured man deserves his resurrection in the minds and hearts of the world.

★

Lincoln had appointed and fired five commanders before he finally found Ulysses S. Grant. But even this was a more totally unpromising discovery than we may recall.

Hiram Grant, for that was his correct name, entered the Civil War a broken and disappointed man. He ranked only 21st in a class of 39 at his 1843 West Point graduation. And after the Mexican War Grant resigned (1854) his commission. Then on Lincoln's call to arms in 1861, he was reinstated as colonel in the 21st Illinois Volunteers, only to have battle disasters overtake him nearly at once.

Gen. H. W. Halleck relieved Grant of all duties and he was virtually under arrest—this remarkable commander who ultimately disposed his vastly larger forces against his gallant adversary with a merciless energy that has few, if any, parallels in modern times.

By early September Atlanta fell, and both Lincoln and the Union were saved.

In this process see Lincoln's famous letter to Gen. Joseph (Fighting Joe) Hooker, warning Hooker of his dictatorial impulses: "Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I want of you is military successes and I will risk the dictatorship." Deserved by Hooker, it would have been a totally inconceivable letter from Lincoln to Grant.

★

One reason is the rapport between Lincoln and Grant. This began with their first meeting in March, 1864. It deepened constantly. Both were unpretentious, honest and patriotic. Lincoln left Grant completely free to direct military operations. Grant scrupulously avoided meddling in political or other areas. And on Lincoln's assassination Grant spoke of his debt to the dead leader: "He was incontestably the greatest man I have ever known."

Lincoln died staunch as a hero refusing a blindfold. Immediately afterward many hoped that the lands of the South could be scooped up like a widow left adrift by the death of a great man. But this was a profoundly ironic mockery to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln owned only one home in his lifetime. It is a plain, two-story frame dwelling on a quiet street in Springfield, Ill. But it is toured by 65,000 visitors every year. President Nixon flew there last year to inaugurate it as a national monument.

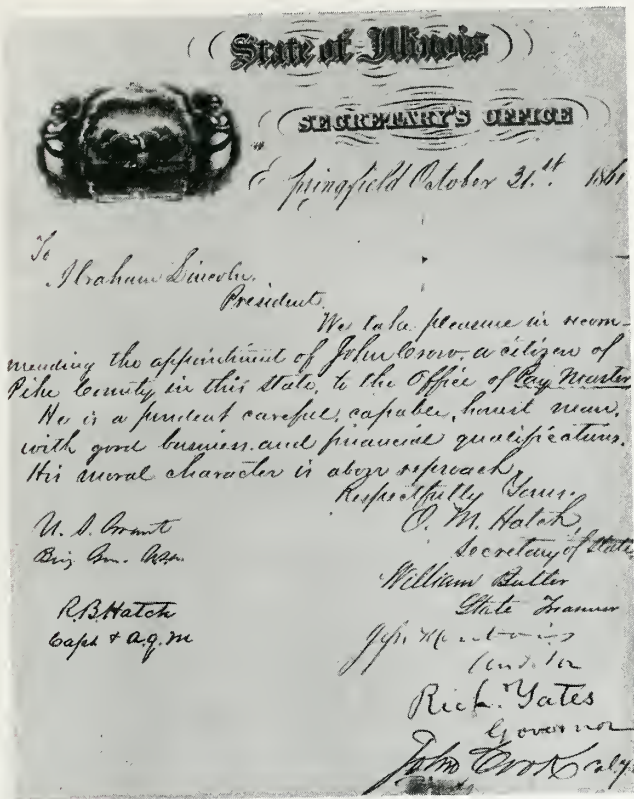
Walk from this home in which Lincoln said good-by to old friends on leaving Springfield for the White House. Cross the Sangamon River. Walk to a quiet eminence in Oak Ridge Cemetery, where pilgrims gather to honor his birthday.

See him towering over you in bronze—the shapely hands turned in, curved. The head with its da Vinci cast of features, that might been hewn out of rock—the brow a broad escarpment; the lean, formidable jowl; the deep-set eyes; the haggard, bony face tilted as though attending through the blurred veil of his anguish what Lincoln himself called "the mystic chords of memory which stretched from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone of the land."

★

The quickened awareness that a life has been nobly wrought adds a dimension to the lives of others, to the lives of all of us. As someone wrote of Lincoln, he makes all mankind seem just a bit taller. He wraps his spell around our hearts on his birthday or any other day and is peaceful in his sleep in glory.

(United Features Syndicate)



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This letter has been published in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, Volume 3: October 1, 1861 — January 7, 1862, on Page 410.

tor; Richard Yates, Governor; John Cook, Colonel of the Twenty-fifth Illinois Infantry; U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General; and Reuben B. Hatch, Captain of the Twenty-fifth Illinois Infantry.

Undoubtedly, this letter received the attention of President Lincoln, because his private secretary, John Hay, made the following notation on the back of the document:

"Respectfully referred by the President to the consideration of the Secretary of War (Simon Cameron). The names attached are intimate friends of the President and the most worthy citizens of Illinois. Dec. 14, 1861."

When this original document was purchased for the Lincoln Library-Museum, it was thought that it would be relatively easy to identify John Crow and determine whether or not he received the appointment of pay master. A diligent search failed to disclose an answer. Later on, it was discovered that the letter appears in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, Volume 3: October 1, 1861-January 7, 1862, on page 410. There the statement is made by the editor, John Y. Simon, that, "No record of the appointment of John Crow has been found."

With the acquisition of the above mentioned document, the Foundation now has in its archives 225 original letters addressed to President Lincoln.

Tad Lincoln

(Continued from page 2)

that the former was written by a more sophisticated scribe. However, whoever he was misspelled the name of Gumpert. Nevertheless, he recorded such detailed information as to when the telegram was sent and received, and he even identified the telegraph operator by initial.

The reader will have to draw his own conclusions as to whether or not Tad Lincoln could write a letter or telegram in 1864. The editor is inclined to believe that Tad Lincoln, while a resident in the Executive Mansion, could not write and that all of his letters or telegrams were written for him.

Former and Future Presidents Addressed Letters to Abraham Lincoln

In the archives of the Lincoln Library-Museum, are to be found three letters (not including the letter signed by General Ulysses S. Grant featured in this issue of *Lincoln Lore*) addressed to Abraham Lincoln by a former President and two future Presidents. The first two letters were published in the July, 1957 (No. 1433) issue of *Lincoln Lore*. The first letter by Millard Fillmore follows:

Buffalo, March 8, 1861

His Excellency
Abraham Lincoln
Sir,

The bearer, E. C. Sprague, Esq. visits Washington on business and has requested me to give him a letter of introduction to your excellency, which I do with great pleasure, as I have known Mr. Sprague from his childhood, and have a very high regard for him as a gentleman of intelligence and high moral character.

He studied law in my office and is now a partner of my son, and occupies a high rank in his profession, and I may add (without being suspected of partizanship) that he is a devoted Republican.

I am Respectfully and
Truly Yours
Millard Fillmore

The second letter by Ulysses S. Grant follows:
Headquarters, Depts. of the Ten.
Millikins Bend, La., April 12/63

A. Lincoln
President of the United States
Sir:

Enclosed please find a copy of my letter and also one from General Sherman,* to Thos. D. Knox, correspondent of the New York Herald in reply to his application to be permitted to remain in this Dept.

I send these knowing the propensity of persons to misrepresent grounds taken in matters when they are personally interested and fearing that in this case, it might be represented that your wishes had not met with the respect due them.

As stated in my letter the wish of the president will always have the favor and respect of an order.

I am very respectfully
Your Obt. svt.
U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen. Vols.

* Copies of the original correspondence sent to Thos. D. Knox of the *New York Herald* accompany this original letter.

The third letter by Andrew Johnson follows:
State of Tennessee
Executive Department
Nashville, December 3, 1864

His Excellency
Abraham Lincoln
President United States
Washington
D. C.
Mr. President,
Permit me

to introduce to you, Mr. A. F. Lillard of Marshal County Tennessee, —

Mr. Lillard is represented to me as being a truly Loyal Man, and desires an interview with you on Some business which he will make known

I am very respectfully
Your Ob't Serv't
Andrew Johnson

Lincoln's Autograph

About fifteen years ago, a simple signature of Lincoln (Abraham Lincoln is likely more valuable than A. Lincoln) was valued between \$50 to \$100. Before the 1920's, Lincoln's signature cut from legal documents sold for as little as \$2.50 to \$5.00. Early in the 1920's, they brought from \$12.50 to \$15.00. Today a Lincoln signature is worth from \$150 to \$200.



Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
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May, 1979

Number 1695

LINCOLN AND WASHBURNE

Though historians have praised President Lincoln's skilled handling of Congress, their discussions of the subject are usually confined to the Cabinet crisis of 1862 and to his abilities to handle difficult personalities like Charles Sumner's. The President's relations with the House of Representatives have been little explored. The tendency to think of Lincoln as a "Whig in the White House," to borrow the language of David Donald's famous essay on Lincoln's theory of the Presidency, reinforces the lack of interest in this question. The Whig theory of the Presidency, after all, dictated that the President simply enforce the will of Congress, use the veto sparingly, and — as Lincoln explained the theory in the election of 1848 — not even force a party platform on the country. A President following such a policy would not "handle" Congress at all. The best student of the Civil War Congress, Leonard P. Curry, concludes that Congress made considerable inroads on executive power during Lincoln's Presidency, though there was nothing like the achievement of Congressional dominance that would come in the Johnson years that followed the Civil War.

Whether this view of the decline of executive power *vis-a-vis* Congress in the Civil War years is true or not, its effect has been to stifle curiosity about Lincoln's friends in Congress. He did have friends there, and two notable examples were Isaac N. Arnold and Elihu B. Washburne. Arnold was not only a great partisan of Lincoln's cause but also an early Lincoln biographer. Yet it is almost impossible to find published material on this Illinois Congressman.

Elihu B. Washburne, if he had a less direct relationship with Lincoln than Arnold, had a longer and more significant career in Congress, and he was close enough to President Lincoln to merit considerable attention.

Washburne was born in Maine in 1816. He was named Elihu Benjamin Washburn but added an "e" to his last name in order to revert to what he thought was the proper spelling of the name among his English ancestors. This has caused some confusion because he had two brothers, Cadwallader and Israel Washburn, who also became prominent in American politics. Although they did not spell their last names identically, these three brothers became a powerful force in American politics. In fact, the Wash-

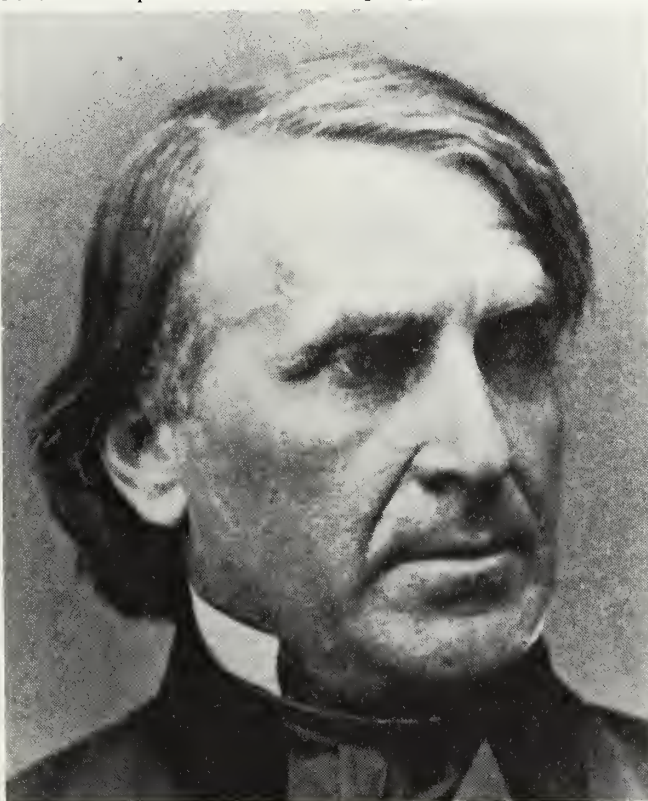
burns hold the distinction of being the only family to have three brothers in the same Congress representing three different states.

After various attempts to find a career, Washburne attended the Harvard Law School, became a member of the Massachusetts bar, and moved to the Illinois lead-mining boomtown of Galena in 1840. A Henry Clay Whig, Washburne met Lincoln the very year he moved to Galena. It was the year of the great log cabin campaign for William Henry Harrison. Their closest association, however, came at the time of the formation of the Republican party and after.

Washburne was elected to the first of eight consecutive terms in the United States House of Representatives in 1852. He was then still a Whig, but he was among the earliest converts to the Republican cause. As early as November of 1854, he could boast to Lincoln that every representative and senator sent to the state legislature from his northern Illinois district was a Republican, and this was almost two years before Lincoln would embrace that new party label. Washburne shared with Lincoln an animosity to the Know-Nothing party, which was at the time the principal competitor of the

Republicans for anti-Democratic voters. In 1854, for example, he helped carry an amendment to the homestead law which allowed those aliens who had declared their intention to become American citizens to acquire public lands in the same way full-fledged citizens did.

Washburne was a staunch supporter of Lincoln's drive to win a seat in the United States Senate in 1855. He and his friends saw every member of the state legislature from his district (the state legislatures still chose the United States Senators), and he told Lincoln how each man was leaning. He warned the candidate: "We are pretty ultra on the slave question . . . and you will have to take pretty high ground." Washburne worked to gain Free Soil support for Lincoln. He suggested that Lincoln write a letter describing his positions on the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the admission of new slave states, and other aspects of the great slavery question which Washburne thought would override all others. He offered to show the letter to Salmon Chase and to get Chase to write Free Soilers in Illinois



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Elihu B. Washburne.

on Lincoln's behalf. Washburne himself saw Joshua Giddings, found him to be Lincoln's "strongest possible friend," and reported Giddings's willingness to "walk clear to Illinois to elect" Lincoln. Giddings wrote Illinois's most successful radical antislavery politician, Owen Lovejoy, twice to urge support for Lincoln's candidacy.

Washburne was an experienced politician, and, when he saw trouble brewing, he reported it. He told Lincoln of one influential friend in his district who opposed Lincoln's candidacy because Springfield's political influence had always been used against the interests of the northern part of the state. Thus an astonished Lincoln had to deal with the perennial sectionalism that plagued Illinois politics. "For a Senator to be the impartial representative of his whole State," Lincoln thundered in his reply, "is so plain a duty, that I pledge myself to the observance of it without hesitation; but not without some mortification that any one should suspect me of an inclination to the contrary." For eight years a Representative of Sangamon County in the legislature, Lincoln, "in a conflict of interests between that and other counties," would have felt a "duty to stick to Old Sangamon," but he could not recall any such conflict with members from the northern part of the state. He could recollect only "co-operating on measures of policy." The Illinois-Michigan Canal "was then the great Northern measure, and it, from first to last, had our votes as readily as the votes of the North itself."

Washburne had the politician's gift for turning a man's trouble to party advantage. One member of the legislature, Wait Talcott, was "in the biggest kind of a lawsuit for an alleged infringement of a patent." Washburne advised Talcott's agent to seek Lincoln's services in the case. If Talcott did so, Washburne was sure it would "be a good pull on him" to support Lincoln for Senator.

Washburne's and Lincoln's efforts failed in 1855, of course, and in 1858, when Lincoln tried again to reach the Senate, Washburne was again in Lincoln's camp. But now there was a complicating factor. Although Washburne was an early and dedicated Republican, he felt keenly that the party was "not so large but what it will hold a few more." He supported Lincoln's candidacy, but he had expressed a hope that Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's opponent, might become a Republican. Douglas had broken with the Democratic Buchanan administration over Kansas policy, and Washburne for a time thought the break decisive for Douglas's future loyalties. Lincoln, on the other hand, was nervous about talk from Eastern Republicans that the party in Illinois ought to let Douglas retain his seat unopposed. He did not trust Douglas, and this strategy would squeeze Lincoln out of any hopes for a Senate seat. Rumors of Washburne's shaky position on the Senate contest made Lincoln's supporters anxious. On April 28, 1858, Washburne told William Herndon that he could not "see the wisdom of abusing" Douglas, "as matters stand now." Four days later he was writing Lincoln much the same thing, explaining, though, that he "had no idea of making him Senator or making him a leader." As for the "idea . . . industriously circulated in our State, that the republicans outside the State were wanting to sell us out in Illinois," Washburne assured Lincoln from his Washington vantage point that "such stuff ought not to be believed for a moment." On May 15th Lincoln expressed himself as "quite satisfied" that Washburne had done no wrong. He was willing "that the matter may drop." By May 31st Washburne was reporting that Douglas had "ceased associating with our folks, but is very thick with the other side. He is understood to repudiate all sympathy with republicans and desires no support from them."

Washburne found Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 "so unexpected we could hardly believe it," but, as a member of the Republican Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign, he promised to "devote my whole soul and energies to the campaign." Interestingly enough, he reported that Stephen Douglas thought the choice of Lincoln "the strongest that could have been made." Like many others, Congressman Washburne immediately advised the candidate to "keep very quiet and out of the way as much as possible."

Washburne's residence in the Capital made him an especially valuable reporter for Lincoln. In May he informed the candidate that "Pennsylvanians of American [i.e., Know-Nothing] proclivities are some what troubled" by the planks in the Republican platform which affirmed the rights of immigrants. They had appealed to Washburne to suggest that

Lincoln's letter accepting the nomination "say nothing about the platform, so they can support you without committing themselves to those planks." Washburne asserted that "we must have" the American element in that state; he thought the request "worth considering." Lincoln ignored the advice.

In Congress, Washburne was more a doer than an orator, but on May 29th he delivered a speech, later widely reprinted as *Abraham Lincoln, His Personal History and Public Record*. Washburne admitted that it "was hastily got up," but he thought it "necessary . . . that your record while in Congress should be brought out in answer to the misrepresentations already made." A full page of the eight-page pamphlet explained that Lincoln voted in favor of supplies and land bounties for soldiers even though he opposed the Mexican War. The Republican Congressional Committee printed the speech and made it available for fifty cents per hundred. Copies of it were among the 40,000 speeches and documents (on the average) which the Committee distributed at the height of the campaign in the fall (the documents were franked by the Congress's free-mailing privilege, a form of Federal funding of election campaigns in Lincoln's day). The Committee was inexhaustible in its attentions to voters. One of Washburne's letters introduced Lincoln to one H.P. Scholte, an Iowan of Dutch descent, who had been in Washington translating Republican campaign materials into Dutch.

As election day approached, Washburne, who adhered to the philosophy that "there is no telling who will be governor

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, His Personal History and Public Record.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. B. WASHBURNE, OF ILLINOIS.

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, May 29, 1860.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Republican party, through its proper organization, has placed in nomination for President of the United States, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois. The people, who will be called upon to pass upon that nomination, have a right to inquire into the life, the character, and the political opinions, of the man who is commended to their suffrages for the highest office in their gift. The State which I in part represent on this floor, having been honored by this nomination, I come here to-day to speak of the personal and political history of the candidate. I have known Mr. Lincoln well for twenty years. I have known him in private life, I have known him at the bar, and have been associated with him in every political contest in our State since the advent of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," in 1840. While I may speak with the accents of a strong personal friendship, I shall speak with the frankness of conscious truth, and, I trust, without exaggeration.

Springing from the humblest ranks in life, and unaided by the adventitious supports of family or wealth, Mr. Lincoln has reached his present exalted position by the strength of his will, the power of his intellect, and the honesty of his heart. He was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, February 12, 1808; his family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, in 1816, where he passed his boyhood amid the roughest hardships and the most trying experiences of a frontier life. Without schools, and almost without books, he spent his time amid the wild and romantic scenes of the border, alleviating the hard labors of the farm by the sport of the huntman. Of fine physical development, with a vigorous intellect, quick intelligence, ready wit, and genial character, he gave early evidences of the superiority he has since attained. His first advent into the great world, from the comparative seclusion of his frontier home, was down the Wabash and

Ohio rivers in charge of a flat-boat, of a class known to all the old river men of the West as "broad-horns." These boats, laden with the productions of the farmers, floated down stream until a market was found for the cargo; and when that was disposed of, the boat itself was sold, and those in charge made their way back, in the best manner they could, to their homes. A great many persons have heard Mr. Lincoln relate, with inimitable effect, the anecdotes of his experience of that portion of his life.

In 1830, Mr. Lincoln emigrated to that State, with which his great name has now become historically connected. He passed the first year in Macon county, and actively labored on a farm, where he and a fellow-laborer, by the name of John Hanks, split three thousand rails. This portion of the history of Mr. Lincoln's life gave rise to the incident in the late Republican State Convention at Decatur, in Macon county, which awakened the intensest enthusiasm of that vast concourse of citizens from all parts of the State. Mr. Lincoln was present as a spectator in that Convention, and was invited to take a seat upon the platform. When he had taken his seat, it was announced to the Convention that John Hanks, an old Democrat, who had grown gray in the service of that party, desired to make a contribution to the Convention; and the offer being accepted, forthwith two old-time fence rails, decorated with flags and streamers, were borne through the crowd into the Convention, bearing the inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

THE RAIL CANDIDATE

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860.

Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in 1830 by John Hanks and Abe Lincoln.

The effect was electrical. One spontaneous burst of applause went up from all parts of the "wigwag." Of course, Mr. Lincoln was called out, and made an explanation of the matter. He

PUBLISHED BY THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. PRICE 50 CENTS PER HUNDRED.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. This Dutch translation of Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address, perhaps the work of F. P. Scholte, was an 1860 campaign document. It is the only Dutch title listed for 1860 in Jay Monaghan's *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*.

Strart bill May 18 1905 NO 1

De Republikeinsche Party verdedigd enz.

REDEVOERING

VAN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

IN HET COOPER INTIJUT: FEBRUARY 27, 1860.

Mr. PRESIDENT EN MEDEBURGERS VAN NEW YORK:

De daadzaken waarmede ik my deelen avond zal bezig houden zijn meestal out en bekend, ook is er niets nieuws in het gebruik dat ik er van zal maken. Indien er enige nieuwigheid in is, het zal zijn de manier om de daadzaken te voorstellen, en de gevolgtrekkingen en opmerkingen die uit deze voorstelling voortlojen.

Senator Douglas zeide, in zyne redevoering laatste berisf, te Columbus, in Ohio, als opgegeven in de "Nieuw York Times."

"Onze vaders, toen zy het Gouvernement vormden waaronder wy leven, verstonden dit vraagstuk juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter als wy tegenwoordig doen." Ik stem dit ten volle toe, en neem het aan als een tekst voor deze redevoering. Ik doe dit omdat het een juist en door beiden erkend aanvangpunt levert voor eene verhandeling der Republikeinen en die vleugel van de Demokratie aangevoerd door Senator Douglas. Het laat eenvoudig het onderzoek over. "Hoe verstonden die vaders het verneemde vraagstuk?"

Wat is het grondwerk van het Gouvernement waaronder wy leven? Het antwoord moet zijn: "De Constitutie der Verenigde Staten." Die Constitutie bestaat uit de oorspronkelijke, opgesteld in 1787 (en waaronder het tegenwoordige Gouvernement het eerst in werking trad), en twaalf daarna gemaakte verbeteringen, waarvan de tien eerste gemaakt werden in 1789.

Wie waren onze vaders die de Constitutie maakten? Ik veronderstel de 39 die het oorspronkelijke stuk tekende moogen niet regt onze vaders genoemd worden die dat gedeelte van ons tegenwoordig Gouvernement ontwierpen. Het is volkomen waar niet alleen dat zy getrouw vertegenwoordigden het denkbeeld en gevoelen van het beoelde volk ter dien tyd. Hanno algemeen bekende namen beboeven nu niet te worden herhaald. Ik neem dan deze 39 voor het tegenwoordig ge als onze vaders die het Gouvernement ontworpen waaronder wy nu leven. Wat is nu het vraagstuk het welk volgens de tekst, deze vaders juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter verstonden, dan wy nu doen?

Het is dit: Verbed eene juiste verdeling tusschen plaatselyk en federaal gezag, ofsets in de Constitutie aan ons Gouvernement het beheer in betrekking tot Slaverny in ons Federaal Grondgebied?

Hierop antwoord Douglas bevestigend en de Republikeinen ontkennend. Dit vormt het verschil, en dit verschil, dit vraagstuk, is juist dat geene wat de tekst verklaard dat onze

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FIGURE 3. Washburne's campaign speech for Lincoln.

till after the election," was not overconfident, but he warned Lincoln that he would be "utterly overrun" with office-seekers if he won. And the Illinois Congressman, though "reluctant to be among . . . the crowd," did say that he would like to see Lincoln too. He did so on November 12th and "found Old Abe in fine spirits and excellent health, and quite undisturbed by the blusterings of the disunionists and traitors." When he returned to Washington, Washburne found that "secession feeling has assumed proportions of which I had but a faint conception," and he told Lincoln that "our friends generally in the west are not fully apprised of the imminent peril which now environs us." Washburne expressed Congress's feelings for "conciliation but firmness" and called for "masterly inactivity."

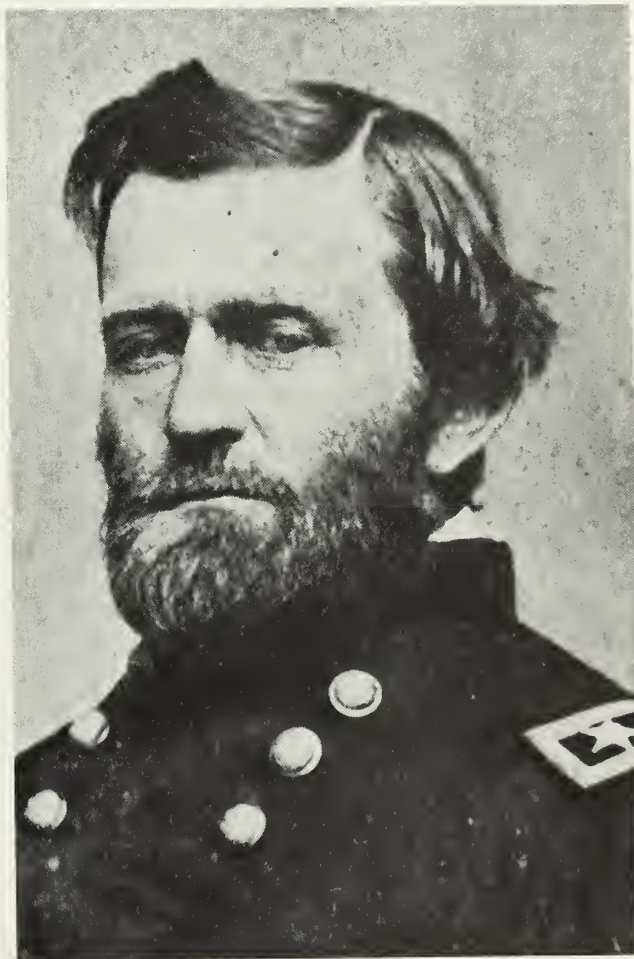
Washburne's hopes rose and fell, but, in general, he sensed that real trouble was brewing. Having had some acquaintance with Winfield Scott when he was the Whig candidate for President in 1852, Washburne was now able to see the old general in Washington and keep Lincoln, who was still in Springfield, in touch with the crisis over Federal forts in the South and later with the security measures for the city and Lincoln's inauguration. He gave Lincoln advice: not to compromise on the platform, to procure a private secretary who would not sell his influence and who knew etiquette and French, and to stay in a private residence in Washington before the inauguration. He opposed Simon Cameron's appointment to the Cabinet vigorously.

Early in January, Washburne became alarmed about a conspiracy to seize the Capital and prevent the inauguration. With William Seward and two other members of Congress, Washburne employed two New York detectives to investigate the rumors of conspiracies. He referred to them in later letters as "our friends from N.Y.," and expressed great fears about

the state of opinion in Baltimore. Washburne's fears calmed late in January but rose again early in February. He was in the end the only man on the platform when Lincoln came into Washington secretly for his inauguration.

Unfortunately for the historian, once Washburne and Lincoln were together in Washington, the correspondence between them decreased in frequency and importance. They no longer had to discuss political matters by mail. As a Congressman, Washburne became the particular champion of fellow Galena townsman Ulysses S. Grant. He saw to everything for General Grant's career from military promotions to the coining of celebratory medals. His loyalty knew no limits. When Grant issued his infamous Order No. 11 banning "Jews, as a class" from the Department of the Tennessee late in 1862, Lincoln eventually received so many protests that he revoked it. Washburne protested Lincoln's revocation, saying that he considered "it the wisest order yet made by a military Command." For a period in 1863, Washburne accompanied Grant on campaigns and gave a wonderful portrait of that colorful and dedicated soldier. His "entire baggage consists of a tooth brush," Washburne said. A thirteen-year-old boy carried the general's sword. He had no servant, no blanket, no overcoat, and no clean shirt.

In Congress, Washburne loyally supported the administration's war effort. His view of the task was simple. As he expressed it after the Battle of Bull Run, "We will whip the traitors yet. Their barbarities towards our wounded will arouse a spirit of vengeance which will not be appeased till their leaders are all hung and their followers are driven into the gulf." He voted with the more zealous Republicans and was a tough man in a floor battle. When Congressmen debated the bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia in the spring of 1862, Washburne knew who had the votes to win: "If gentlemen of the other side offer amendments, let us hear them, and then vote them down." Like fellow Illinois Congressman Isaac Arnold, Washburne was



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FIGURE 4. Washburne's favorite general, U. S. Grant.

SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS FOR DISTRIBUTION BY THE UNION CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Abraham Lincoln—"Slavery and its issues indicated by his Speeches, Letters, Messages, and Proclamations." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold—"Reconstruction; Liberty the corner-stone and Lincoln the architect." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

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Hon. Beverly Johnson—"Amendment to the Constitution." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

Hon. J. D. Defrees—"Thoughts for Honest Democrats." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

Biographical Sketch of Andrew Johnson, candidate for the Vice Presidency. 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

Hon. J. D. Defrees—"The War commenced by the Rebels." 16 pages; two dollars per hundred.

Numerous Speeches and Documents not included in the foregoing will be published for distribution, and persons willing to trust the discretion of the Committee can remit their orders with the money, and have them filled with the utmost promptitude, and with the best judgment as to price and adaptation to the locality where the Speeches are to be sent.

Printed by L. Towers for the Union Congressional Committee.

FIGURE 5. Washburne's committee franked speeches on this list by the thousands in 1864. Washburne did not include a speech of his own on the list, but other members of the committee did. The committee sent circulars and speeches to Republican groups. On the backs of the speeches, they advertised other available speeches. One of these lists is pictured here.

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an ardent supporter of the bill to make the old Illinois and Michigan Canal of Whig days a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes.

Washburne was among the earliest to seek Lincoln's commitment to run for reelection, asking him to "let some of your confidential friends know your wishes" as early as October of 1863. He was a member of the Union Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign and once again franked thousands of speeches and documents. He even assessed Lincoln's Cabinet members \$250 each for the circulation of documents. He became quite alarmed at the state of opinion in his home state and repeatedly pleaded with the President to furlough Illinois soldiers to vote in the election. He acted as an intermediary with Grant when Lincoln wished to use a letter from Grant for campaign purposes. The general replied to Washburne's inquiry that Lincoln could use "anything I have ever written to him as he sees fit," but added: "I think however for him to attempt to answer all the charges the opposition will bring against him will be like setting a maiden to work to prove her chastity."

Like others of Lincoln's friends in Congress, Washburne is a figure badly in need of a biography. The sketch of his career here is suggestive of his importance and of the illumination such a biography would bring to our understanding of the Sixteenth President.

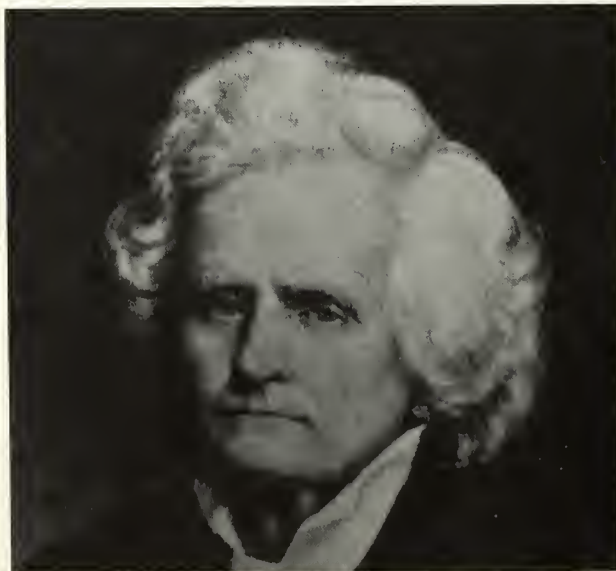
Editor's Note: This article is based on the following letters from Washburne to Lincoln in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress: December 19, 1854; December 26, 1854; January 17, 1855; May 2, 1858; May 31, 1858; May 19, 1860; May 20, 1860; May 30, 1860; December 9, 1860; January 6, 1863; and May 1, 1863. Grant's letter to Washburne about Lincoln's use of his letters is also in that collection (September 21, 1864).

LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: STEPHEN T. LOGAN COPY

Many would say that this, the sixth article in a series on the presentation copies of the *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois*, should have been the first. The copy presented to the "Hon. S.T. Logan, From his friend A. Lincoln" is the only known copy signed in ink. Harry Pratt, who published the first survey of these famous books in *Manuscripts* in the summer of 1954, and Charles Hamilton, the famous manuscript dealer, believed that this was very likely the first copy Lincoln gave away. Their theory was that Lincoln discovered when he signed this book that the soft paper caused the ink to smear and thereafter inscribed the copies in pencil.

Stephen Trigg Logan was Lincoln's second law partner and a lifelong friend. Of those who received the known presentation copies, Logan was by far the most closely associated with Lincoln. If he gave copies to David Davis or to John G. Nicolay, for example, they have never come to light.

The Logan copy was in the hands of the Logan family until 1946. Logan's great-granddaughter, Martha Coleman Bray, received the book at the death of her father. He was Christopher Bush Coleman, the son of Lewis Harrison Coleman, who married Stephen T. Logan's daughter Jennie. She sold it to William H. Townsend, a noted Lincoln collector and author from Lexington, Kentucky. Townsend at one time owned two presentation copies of the *Debates*, the Logan copy and the copy given to Job Fletcher. In 1953 he sold the Fletcher copy to the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, which in turn sold it to Lincoln collector Justin G. Turner of Hollywood, California. Sometime later, Turner also acquired Townsend's other copy. In 1968 Victor B. Levit purchased the Logan copy from a sale of Turner's collection at a Charles Hamilton Autographs, Inc., auction. Mr. Levit of the law firm of Long & Levit in San Francisco still owns the Logan copy and very kindly sent me much of the information on which this article is based.



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FIGURE 6. Stephen T. Logan.

Lincoln's address to Grant

IN a fine old mansion in Georgetown lives the daughter-in-law of Gen. Ulysses Simpson Grant.

Quite beautiful in her declining years and queenly in her bearing is Mrs. Frederick Dent

Grant. She lives with her son, Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant, 3d, director of Public Buildings and Public Parks.

There is a room in the Grant mansion filled with mementos of her noted father-in-law, many of them secured on his round-the-world trip and gifts of foreign nations.

Especially interesting are documents which have to do with Abraham Lincoln. There is one in particular—the papers passed between the two when Grant was made commander in chief of the Northern forces.



But the story back of these documents, as told by Mrs. Grant, is even more interesting.

Grant came to Washington to receive his commission, a total stranger to the President. He had a short conference with Lincoln. Just as the conference was about to end, Lincoln said:

"Gen. Grant, I shall have the honor and pleasure tomorrow of presenting you with your commission. It will be an occasion of considerable importance, historical importance. I know you to be a man of deeds rather than words. I shall be brief.

"I have written out exactly what I shall say to you and I have made a copy of it, which I am now handing to you. You may wish to look it over. I shall say precisely that."

The two originals—Lincoln's remarks

to Grant and the general's response—are in their own handwriting. The striking thing is the similarity of the length and paragraphing.

Both are short. What Lincoln read to Grant consists of 84 words. What Grant read to Lincoln consists of 82 words, and the two fitted together with dovetailed accuracy.

These two addresses can be found in any standard life of Lincoln, but not what happened before.

Grant was averse to public speaking, even while President, but that fact was generally unknown at that time.

There is no accounting for this scene other than Lincoln's rare gift of prevision.

